/66 cont'd/

Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao, the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem. Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/100 cont./

000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[765 month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich
554] sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787 the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
752 chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when
782 a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his
[292] clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[752 sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/101 cont./

756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
784 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering the spell. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations. After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped, his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places. When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork, a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/ feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast," together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles.
764 Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
[177] as the Chinese.

606 In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
[782] first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony, the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/101 cont./

764 of wine, known to the Miao as "dark night /?/" /hsiao yeh/ to show that both hosts and guests feel grateful and in harmony. After the offering by the son-in-law, the maternal uncle of
764 the deceased, customarily called hou ch'in or hou pei /"empress'
604 relative" or "empress' generation"/ also comes forth with a
605 pig's head to offer in sacrifice. After this ceremony is over, he also invites the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family and those on the maternal side who came with the maternal uncle to drink together. After the wine has been drunk, one of the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family or an eloquent elder of the village is asked to act as the go-between to request from the bereaved family huo-pa chiu /"torch wine"/. The huo-pa chiu consists of a certain number of chin of wine, a certain number of chin of meat, towels, and cloth. Those who go with the "empress' relative" each receive a towel and a certain number of ch'ih of cloth "for showing the way." The last item is necessary, but the others may be more or less given at discretion.

764 After the "empress' relative" has received the various
604 items of hou-pa chiu, he is charged with certain duties at the time of carrying the corpse to the grave. Before the procession he has to wrap the white cloth received over his body, wrap his head with a white towel and hold a straw sword with a white towel dangling from the handle. He has to stand before the coffin or before the main entrance, uttering several phrases of
•[789] a magic formula, and then with the straw sword /102/ he knocks three times on the entrance, whereupon the procession
[754] can start off. Holding a fire stick in his hand, the sorcerer picks up the lamp bowl from under the coffin and places it upside down on the coffin, and after uttering spells, he shatters the bowl with the fire stick, and everyone immediately carries the coffin out the entrance. The "empress' relative" still wrapped in white cloth, a white towel on his head, holding a straw sword in his left hand and a torch in his right, marches in front of the coffin, and goes first, leading the way. The filial son in mourning and the mourners march, men before the

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven /ta˩ pia˥/. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul /pien˥/ and a body /ko˧˩ ʂien˧/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[761] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[772] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "/pe˧˩ ts'ə˥˧/"
•[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei /kueŋ˧˩ fo˥/
[824] and trees, tree kuei /kueŋ˧˩ ndu˥/. When there is a
* [782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated
[237] above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,
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755 *782 789 At this point the sorcerer-priest makes the gesture of forcibly sending off the pig. While sending off the pig he says three phrases of a magic formula in a low tone. The bystanders can only see his lips moving but cannot hear anything. According to the Miao sorcerer, at the time his teacher taught him this formula, he repeatedly warned him that after that day he must not teach it to any insincere disciple and must not teach them indiscriminatingly to anyone, or else, the person who teaches it may lose his life or his methods would not be effective. After having finished the three phrases of the magic formula to send off the pig, once more in a loud voice he intones:

755 *782 "Helpers take the wooden rod and hit the pig in the chest and kill it. Roast it with fire and wash it with water! Do it quickly! The kuei have been waiting here for fully half a day already."

After the incantation is over, the host and the helpers kill the animal with the rod and carry it inside the house. They roast it over the fire, then wash it with water, lay bare the stomach, and cut the pig into two halves: one half is taken by the host, with one leg cut off for the sorcerer-priest, and the other half is received by the seven guests. The other pig is similarly distributed, but after the host's share is put aside, the guests' share is cut into small chunks, and seven bowls are filled with meat. Two bowls are placed on fancy paper in the winnowing basket, and five bowls, on fancy paper at the table. Then, a few other chunks of meat are put into a tin can on the mat. After the meat has been set up, each person returns to his original seat.

The fourth part is to send the kuei away. The sorcerer-priest, ringing the hand bell with his left hand and holding the chiao with his right hand, utters an incantation to the following effect:

"The pork has been cooked in the saucepan. Seven fine bowls of meat and seven fine bowls of wine have been placed beside the stove. Another ten bowls of meat have been put beside the entrance. This sorcerer-priest takes this wine and meat and offers them to the ancestral kuei. So, please receive them."

2:Ling & Ruey--283 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

*782 533 [H3]

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Wa te Ch'uan Shuo /The Story of the Flood among the Miao and the Legend of Fu Hsi and Nü Wa/, in Jen-lui Hsüeh Chi K'an /Anthropological Review/, Vol. 1, No. 1.

the play, "Meng Chiang Nü," and the friends and relatives who come to see it toss out cash as "praising the song money."

*782 *789 The fourteenth part is checking in the troops. (This part of the ritual is performed only when the host desires to drive away evil influences, otherwise it may be omitted.) Rice straw is spread before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is laid a fine bamboo mat. The sorcerer, with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding two spears, stands on the mat and does the three-step walk. A helper picks up the colter of a plow and puts it in the fire until it is red. The sorcerer sings, swinging the spears. He first checks the troops in the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. For the east, north, and center he faces the inside of the house, whereas for the south and north /sic/ he faces outward. Next he checks the names of the 12 piao /body of troops/ leaders, and then the soldiers of the 12 months. After this checking, holding the two spears in his left hand and taking the chiao-tzu in his right hand, he divines. If the yin chiao appears, it is considered that Duke No has mounted his horse; the yang chiao indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan chair; the sheng chiao shows that all the other shen have mounted their horses. When the divination shows that all the shen have mounted their horses, the gong and drum are struck, the sorcerer priest blows his horn and grasps the spears, which have been in his left hand, separately and waves them to the left and right, does the three-step walk, and at the same time utters the hua-piao /"transforming the spears"/ incantation. After one passage, he goes

*787 [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

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#782 989 around in a circle, faces to the right of the Peach Blossom cave, bends a little, and, spears still waving to the right and left, continues the incantation. After another passage, he takes a step facing outside, acts as if he were mounting a horse, then turns facing inside again. He passes the two spears to the helper, blows the horn once, and then picks up two hsien-feng banners and waves them to the right and left, at the same time uttering the hua-ch'i /transforming the banners"/ incantation. After passage, he takes another step facing outside the door, and once more makes the movement of mounting a horse, once more turns facing inside, passes the two hsien-feng banners to the helper, blows the horn once, picks up the branch of a peach tree, and waving it right and left, utters the ts'o-su /"twisting rope"/ incantation, /187/ gesticulating according to the text of the incantation to the east, south, west, north, and center. Then after he has turned facing inside and has blown the horn once, he utters the jang-hu /"lake"/ and the jang-hai /"sea"/ incantations to the five directions. Then he blows the horn once toward the interior of the house, picks up the whip in his left hand, shakes the ritual knife in his right hand, takes the three-step walk, and in the din of gong and drum he utters the ch'a-ping /"despatching the troops"/ incantation. After a passage, he walks in a circle, puts the whip and knife on the ground, makes gestures with his left hand, does the three-step walk, and continues the incantation. Then he changes the style of walking. After eight steps, he circles around once and faces to the right of the Peach Spring cave, his two hands together, the fingers intertwined and the thumbs twirling. With his right foot planted on the whip and the knife and both hands waving to the left and right, he utters the incantation to expel evil influences. After one passage, he circles around once, picks up the whip and knife from the ground, strikes the ground with the whip once, and jumps once, then while jumping he utters an incantation. Then he faces inside and picks up the red-hot colter in the fire with a pair of iron tongs. On top of it he puts some paper money, a piece of mi-pa, and some drops of tung oil.

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*782 As black smoke curls up, he asks someone to go around the house with it, and when he comes to the front of a bed, to the central hall, and beside the cattle stall, he puts down the colter, while the sorcerer spits a mouthful of tung oil on the colter to send black smoke curling upward. Helpers, holding spears, banners, and peach branches, cry out loudly, "ho, ho," to drive away the evil kuei. The sorcerer, holding the willow towel and the ritual knife, follows behind, waving and dancing, uttering an incantation all the while. After the tour of the house is over, the colter is deposited outside, and the sorcerer-priest returns to the main house to utter another incantation and to divine. After the sheng chiao or the yin chiao are obtained, he sings out the magic words to call in the troops, to the accompaniment of the sound of gong and drum. After singing a passage, he picks up the two spears and waves them to the right and left as he did when he checked in the troops. After singing some more, he divines, and on obtaining the sheng chiao, the ritual is over.

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The fifteenth part is T'ao Chiao /"asking for the chiao-tzu"/.

*782 On a small table is placed a sheng of rice, a piece of cloth (green or blue in color), and a woman's ornament. On the rice are stuck three sticks of incense and a pair of candles. The sorcerer priest appears in a red headkerchief and carrying the willow towel on his back, and sings the T'ao Chiao incantation. After one passage is sung, the helpers spread out rice straw on the ground, and on it is spread a piece of bedding. The sorcerer-priest and the host both kneel down on the bedding; the sorcerer puts the willow towel in front of his knees, holds a ling-p'ai /honorable tablet, i.e. the ancestral tablet?/ in his left hand and the chiao-tzu in his right, and utters an incantation to invoke the shen. When it is divined that the shen have already descended and taken cognizance of the items on sacrifice, the sorcerer first begs their protection for the family, the father, mother, sons, and daughters of the family, one by one, and next for the horses, oxen, goats, chickens, ducks, geese, cats, and dogs. Next he seeks their protection so that the five

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*782 the chanting are over, the gong and drum are silenced, and the sorcerer-priest returns to the host's house to eat breakfast. After breakfast the sorcerer makes a liang-yüan, and with both hands he gives it to the host to be stuck in the sheng of rice. At the same time he says a few words of good luck.

At this point, all the various rituals for Huan No Yüan are over. The sorcerer packs up his implements and the thank-you gifts from the host, who sends someone to escort him home. On passing each village the sorcerer must blow his horn once, the idea being to call the yin troops to return to the altar. When he arrives home he blows his horn once more and utters the incantation of returning to the altar.

(2) Magic

771 789 Both magic and religion are in the sacred domain. The distinction between the two sometimes is not very clear. The celebrated British scholar of magic and religion, Sir James Frazer, set up his standard of differentiating between magic and religion on the basis of whether the method employed in controlling nature was a personal, direct application of the use of spells and charms, or an indirect one by invoking the help of spirits. (1) The former is /194/ magic, and the latter

1. See Malinowski: Magic, Science and Religion, Li Anche's translation, pp. 3-4.

is religion. The contemporary scholar, Malinowski, has made a more penetrating distinction between the two. He says: "Within the domain of the sacred, magic as a practical art consisting of acts which are only means to a definite end expected to follow later on; religion as a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfillment of their purpose." (1)

1. See above-quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

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771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
• 789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
[931] For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[782] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[821] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided
[755] into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[754] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

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1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 791 868 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual, and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws

2. See previously quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life [262] must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses, and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

755 789 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

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789 a cup of wine, and meat, and lays them down one by one. The magician then kowtows three times facing the altar for incense. Then he burns the paper money and takes down the cup of water with his left hand, using the thumb, forefinger, and little finger to hold it secure /Illus. 77 appears here/ /196/ (the middle and the fourth fingers bend into the palm). The forefinger and middle finger of his right hand close together to draw three magic signs facing the cup of water (Illus. 76, 77). While the magic signs are being drawn he

[352]

Illus. 76. The ritual of drawing water.

/196 cont./

755 recites to himself the magic formula for invoking his teacher,
789 while imagining the situation under which his teacher taught him. After the magic formula invoking the teacher has been

Illus. 77. The gesture for drawing water.

said, he utters the magic formula for drawing water, and at a certain passage he takes a mouthful of water and sprays it upon the sick person, or he asks the sick person to drink the cup of water. In case of sudden illness or an injury sustained in open country or in the mountains, when it is not possible to set up an incense altar, it is only necessary to burn incense and paper, recite the incantation and draw the spell, and smear the injured part of the sick person with saliva.

The incantations for drawing water may be divided into two parts: one part is the magic formula for the invocation of

/196 cont./

755 789 the teacher, and the second part is the magic formula for the water. In the various kinds of incantations for drawing water, the formula for invoking the teacher is largely similar, but the formula for water differs. The following are some examples:

(1) Chiang-chün shui /general's water/: Cures sudden illness accompanied by fainting. The magic formula for invoking the teacher runs as follows: "Invoking /197/ Master so and so, who taught me orally, I raise my head to look up to the skies in the center of which the master is, and call him to come. As soon as I call, he comes. He is before me, behind me, to my left, and to my right, going from front to back, from left to right, hiding me, transforming me, so that where my body is cannot be seen. He helps me talk of proper water, and speaking of proper water, I draw a brass knife and an iron knife. The brass knife kills the kuei. The iron knife kills the kuei." Having said this magic formula to invite the teacher, he then utters the magic formula for the water: "Moving one foot, calling out once, I call upon the great Shang-yüan Great General. The first general, who bears the surname T'ang, was once the king of the Li kingdom; his feet pushes 800 carriages, like a room in Lao-chün's /i.e., Lao-tzu's/ inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (At this point the magician takes a mouthful of water and, making a fierce sound like a tiger, he sprays the water on the body of the sick person, and then, stamping his foot on the ground, he continues.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going away now, wait awhile. A hundred birds are repairing to the mountain, and so is the pretty woman. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The second general, whose surname is Ko, emits smoke from his

/197 cont./

755 789 nose and a river from his mouth, and swells in Tu-wei palace in heaven. He pushes 800 carriages with his feet, like Lao-chün in his inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As in the previous instance the magician sprays a mouthful of water and stamps his foot on the ground.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The belly of the kuei will be ripped open, his intestines taken out and his heart eaten. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The third general, whose surname is Chu, can reverse the current of the Yellow River and can also push 800 carriages with his feet, like a room in Lao-chün's inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As before the magician sprays water and stamps his foot.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The big ones will be half-eaten, and the little ones will be scraped and hung to dry. Everyone has a net, and so come quickly. If you do not come your nets will be messed up. (The last two sentences are uttered in a low and muffled tone.)

752 755 789 (2) Lu-szu shui /"egret silk"/: A remedy when a bone gets stuck in the throat through eating or drinking carelessly. On drinking this cup of water, the sick person can vomit out or swallow down the bone. The magic formula for invoking the teacher is the same as above. The magic formula for

752 755 789 /197 cont./ water is as follows: "When the moon rises above the four pillars, chop up all the dirty kuei. /198/ May I become a monkey to properly change to drink water. If I call to change, then I will change. If I do not change, the disciple will draw a June sun in which to change. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not, the disciple will draw a June sun, in which to melt. If I call to change, I will change; and if I do not, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to strike me into changing. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not melt, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to force me to melt. Raising my head to look at the four directions, I see nine dragons coming down from heaven. When the dragons come they drop off their claws; when the tigers come they drop off their skins, and the hundreds of birds in the mountains drop off their feathers. Step by step they become steel. When I touch them they become small open boats." (Chanted three times.)

(3) Hsüeh-shan shui /"snow-mountain water"/: Heals skin burns. If the injury is slight, saliva can be used to smear on the burn, but for a serious injury it is necessary to use a bowl of water. He sprays three mouthfuls of water, and also flicks water on the burned place with his fingers. The magic formula for water follows: "The first request is for a distance of one li, the second for the distance of two li. The large army knife please go to the big snow mountain; and the small army knife please go to the small snow mountain. I respectfully invite my teacher, Lung Sheng-fa and profound disciple, Ma Lao-ch'iao. When an army is burned it is broken off; when the skin is burned it is broken off. Do not flow blood! do not flow water! Take the saliva as medicine."

(4) Ke-shan shui /"separated-by-a-mountain water"/: For healing someone injured by a fall or by a cut on the other side of a mountain. If the magician hears the cry for help, he then can utter an incantation to heal the injured person, except that he must inform the injured person beforehand: "If I ask you whether you are well or not, you should reply 'yes,'

/198 cont./

752 or the healing will be ineffective." The magic formula for
755 water is as follows: "On the other side of the mountain press
789 down the mountain; on the other side of the water press down the water; draw /i.e. delineate/ the burden of the kuei, chop off the kuei mountain. The old dragon has personally come to the dragon-deep rapids. Li Lao-ko of Mu-shan has been invited, and without fear of miscellaneous kuei or distant ones, the left hand draws the thunder of heaven, the right hand draws the thunder of the earth, drawing altogether 500 savage thunders."

(5) Tan-hsüeh shui /"carrying-blood water"/: This is used to heal an injured person whose blood keeps flowing. First ordering the man to take hold of the injured place, he utters an incantation and sprays a mouthful of water, and thus the bleeding will stop. The magic formula for the water is as follows: "Moving a foot, calling out once, I got Master Wu Hwa-hsing. Across the mountain I call out for the three stars; across the water I call out for shui-i /literally, "water meaning"/. The large army knife is carried to Ta-hung-sha /lit. "large great sands"/; the small army knife is carried to Hsiao /"small"/-hung-sha. The water of the Yangtze River and the current from the sea are carried. The foot stamps on the dragon's head, and the blood carried does not flow; the foot is set on the dragon's waist, and the blood carried does not seep out. Boys, boys, changed in the muddy fields. The boys are related. The master asks me to mark off the four places. The disciple asks me to point in the four directions."

(6) Feng-tao-k'ou shui /"closing-a-knife-wound water"/: Heals knife wounds. After this incantation is uttered three times, not only does the wound close, but the fingers become [751] immune to knife cuts. The magic formula is: "When the sun comes up it is a drop of red; the hand wields a golden whip to ride the dragon; a swallow of water stops the flow of the Yangtze River; the disciple presses the pulse, and the blood stops flowing."

755 outside the village, and its contents are strewn
753 on the ground. When the bowl is taken home and the sick person is not yet well, then a Mi-la is called in to drive away the hungry ghost by prayer.

789 (13) Drawing a Cat. Because of the destruction by rats in the house, the Miao-I often stick up a picture of a large cat on the wall to scare away the rats. They claim this device is very effective.

777 (14) The Auspicious Day. The Miao-I in the hsien district do not consult an almanac but consider as lucky any of the even days (2,4,6,8) in the lunar calendar as well as the ch'en and hsü days of the month. To ch'en belongs the dragon and to hsü, the dog, both of which do not have any taboo. So all the affairs of the Miao-I are conducted on either the even days or the dragon and dog days.

754 (15) Poisonous Insects and Medicines. It is said that in the Miao villages in An-shun certain women breed poisonous insects and certain men concoct medicines to harm people. Men and women who acquire these poisons - women by heredity and men through constant practice - are subject to frequent attacks themselves, ailing all over the body. So they have to eject their poisons to hurt others. Sometimes when they cannot harm human beings they can nevertheless damage woods and stones, for if their poisons are not ejected they themselves will be destroyed. This is a deep-rooted belief among the
754 Miao people. Each time an illness is prolonged
787 or becomes aggravated, the family suspects that the sick person has been affected by poisonous insects or medicines. In order to find out whether the sick person has acquired any poison, a test is made by placing at night a boiled egg on the breast of the sick person or beside his pillow. Next morning the egg is shelled and ex-

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After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭司 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} nAn^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron ploughshare, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬腳 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

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A Ch'uan Miao magician performing a ceremony to exorcise demons.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

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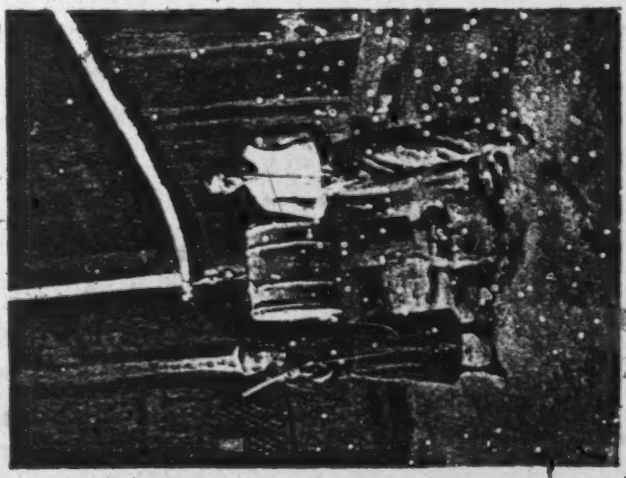

Ch'uan Miao men playing the wind instrument called the gaign or *lin sheng* and beating the ceremonial drum. While they do this they perform a folk dance.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 66]

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If the creature is small, it is cooked and given the patient to eat. If it is large, its liver is cooked and the patient eats it. Then the patient recovers.

In the summer of 1934 I witnessed a ceremony performed by *tuan kung* and took a moving picture of it. At the side of the yard where the performance took place there was a square table on which the *tuan kung* had arranged a quart measure full of wine in which were nine incense sticks in three bunches, a lighted candle, an iron knife, and a neolithic stone axe. He wore a sort of crown or hat which he had made of light yellow grass paper and which was bound to his head with a cloth head-band or turban. With a pair of scissors he cut some paper or spirit money and then burnt it. For some time he kept beating a brass gong and repeating incantations. For divining he used a pair of bamboo sprouts cut into halves and an iron seal and a wooden tongue-like object similar to those used by Buddhists, Taoists and Chinese *tuan kung*. He beat the brass gong with a stick wrapped in cloth.

Later he called in his assistant, the *ma chiao*, who leaped about the yard, striking the ground with his axe while the *tuan kung* occasionally struck the table with his tongue-shaped piece of wood. The *tuan kung* in his incantations ordered the demons to go to Lo Piao, Suifu, Luchow and Chungking.

The ceremony was not carried out to its natural conclusion of killing a snake, crab, frog, or other such creature. This was probably because the *tuan kung* and his *ma chiao* were sensitive of the eyes of the strange foreigner and of some Ch'uan Miao students who giggled at the performance.

In some of his ceremonies the *tuan kung* uses a wide round, flat bamboo winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 and a wooden sword. Often when exorcising demons he makes two horns of paper and wears them on his head. He uses many incantations. Some are in Chinese, some in Ch'uan Miao that can be understood and some in a supposed language that is not understood by ordinary people, which is called gla 𐑜 lo or demon talk because it is thought to be the language of demons. He sometimes writes charms on paper in imitation of Chinese charms. Because he cannot write Chinsee characters he draws circles and curves in imitation of the Chinese characters. Some of these are hung upon doors to protect the homes from demons, some are placed on the heads of children to protect the children and some are pinned on the backs of older people or on their chests.

I witnessed another ceremony by a *tuan kung* in July, 1936. The different steps of the ceremony were explained as follows.

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THE CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

DAVID C. GRAHAM

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATIONS OF CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

000 Among primitive peoples ceremonies are exceedingly important. They enable the tribes or ethnic groups to face in unity the crises of life, and to solve their difficulties. They bind the individuals into one psychic and emotional unity, causing them to unconsciously absorb the emotions and ideas of the group.

Ceremonials generally come down from a remote past, and are uncritically received and passed on to future generations. Through them one can learn the sentiments, beliefs, and practices of the people among whom they are found.

114 The three translations that follow are of ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, one of a To^{3} nʌn^{6} or magician who exorcises demons and thus heals disease and prevents other calamities, and two of mo^{5} or priests who conduct funerals and other memorial ceremonies. They were translated into Chinese by Mr. Hsiung Ts'ao Sung 熊朝鬆, now deceased, and with his assistance, by the writer into English. In this translation an attempt has been made to get back of the Chinese to the meaning in the Ch'uan Miao language, and to render this as faithfully as possible into English.

B. THE CEREMONIES OF CH'UAN MIAO *TUAN KUNG* 端公 TO^{3} NʌN^{6}. THIS WAS ALL SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHENG TS'AI 熊正才 A FARMER OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD WHO LIVED AT WANG WU CHAI NEAR LO PIAO 洛表王武寨. HE HAD ALWAYS LIVED THE NORMAL LIFE OF A CH'UAN MIAO.

I. ARRANGEMENTS TO EXORCISE DEMONS

755 789 First a table is placed in the room. Incense and candles are lighted. Some vegetables and meat with gravy are used. The *tuan kung* 端公 places a pint of uncooked rice on the table and places a pair of wild ox horns in it. On his head he wears two paper horns. In his left hand he carries a brass gong. In his right he carries the stick with which to beat the gong. At the same time he burns some beeswax.

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A. The *tuan kung* stands up and sings, "The yellow wax burns, and the smoke arises. When the wax burns I will call. I will call Ntsc$\eng$ jin* (his helper) here to lead. I will call Ntso$\eng$ jin to come and go ahead. I will call jin tɕa to come and go ahead. I will call jin tɕa to come and lead. $\eng$a· jin held an iron fan. jin tɕa held a brass fan in his hand. He fanned himself with the brass fan and thus scattered the demons by the sea. He fanned with an iron fan and thus drove the demon illnesses and groans away."

When he has repeated thus far, he beats the gong loudly.

B. "When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, the *tuan kung* goes and calls. He calls na· bo· sʌn jin to come to the front. He calls sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə to come to the front. na· bo· sʌn jin carries an iron club in his hand. sʌn jin lɛ ts'ə carries a brass club in his hand. The iron club will beat the demons of illness as the water of the sea scatters. The brass club beats the demons of illness and the demons of groans so that they go to the place where people sleep and scatter."

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong awhile.)

C. "When the beeswax burns, the incense smokes. When it smokes, I again call. I call nine thousand soldiers to come to the front. He calls upon the soldiers of 900 fortified places to come forward and bring the big guns and shoot them everywhere, and bring the spears and stand them up black (and sharp) and to shoot the big guns with their black smoke. When it looks black, I will call for the soldiers to charge. They will charge against the demons in the forest and the grass of these old people's family, to charge them down to the river on the lower bend, casting them onto the roads, the cliffs and the crossroads."

The *tuan kung* now beats the gongs awhile.

D. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, we will again come and call. We will call the scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven comes and looks. He looks to see if the souls (living) of this family are few or not; to see if the boys of this family are crooked or not; to see if these old people's pool is full or not; to see if the lake of these old people is clean or not. Ntsə's group of controllers of heaven came and looked at the earth; to see if the souls of the living of this family are here or not; to see if the souls of the

*Note.—Unfortunately the deaths of Hsiung Cheng Ts'ai and Hsiung Ts'ao Sung have made it impossible to check up the tones of the Miao names in this translation, so some of them have been omitted.

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bodies of this family have returned to their right bodies or not; to see if the souls of these bodies are with their bodies or not. (The *tuan kung* at this time beats the gong awhile.)

E. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will also come (the *tuan kung* will=we). He will call na^{8} bo^{9} so^{5} to come to the front. He will call the thunder god to come to the front. He will call tga^{5} Tai^{5} to come to the front (the lightning). We will call ʒ̇ɛ^{5} so^{5} and tga^{5} Tai^{5} to come to the front. Bo^{9} so^{5} came with a stir. ʒ̇ɛ^{5} so^{5} came with a roar. bo^{9} so^{5} made a stir and came and beat the demons that cause sickness and those that cause groans. ʒ̇ɛ^{5} so^{5} came roaring and shouting and chased away the demons of the forest and the grassy places. Bo^{9} so^{5} then used tga^{5} Tai^{5} and cut the demons of sickness and those of groans into halves. She cut the demon of quarrels until it perished. ʒ̇ɛ^{5} so^{5} also brought tga^{5} Tai^{5} and cut. She cut the demons of sickness, of the forest and of the grassy places. Bo^{9} so^{5} separted men and the demons. ʒ̇ɛ^{5} so^{5} separated the demons so that they could not see people.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

The demons must not come near people. Bo^{9} so^{5} took an iron hatchet. ʒ̇ɛ^{5} so^{5} took a big stone axe in his hand. Na^{8} bo^{9} so^{5} then struck the stone cliff with her axe. ʒ̇ɛ^{5} so^{5} will cut the stone terrace and the colored cliff. They will come and cut (with their stone axes) the dragon pool of these old people so that it will not spoil. They will cut the big rock and the stone cliff and will cut the old people's lake so that it is safe.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong.)

F. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, I will call (the *tuan kung* calls and the smoke helps him). We will call the ʒ̇wang tsai (the colored dragon) to bring tsaŋ xau (a leader in the dragon land). We called ninety-nine colored dragons. When the ninety-nine colored dragons came, they went into the dragon pool of this family. There are also eighty-eight colored dragons who came to control the lake of these old people so that it will not dry up.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

G. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call again. We call tgo$^{\cdot}$ tsai (the striped tiger) to come to the front. We also call tsai^{5} gi$^{\cdot 7}$ tgo$^{\cdot 7}$ nd^{z}Au^{5} (a big lion) to come to the front. T o n u bit with his teeth. Tsai i t o n u bit and gnashed with his teeth. tgo$^{\cdot 7}$ nd^{z}Au then stood up firmly and ate the demons of sickness and those of groans. tsai^{5} gi$^{\cdot 7}$ tgo$^{\cdot 7}$ nd^{z}Au came moving

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and ate the demons of sickness and the gasping demons. Then tso$^{\cdot 7}$ nd^{z}ʌu^{5} ate the demon of chills (cold diseases) and demons of blood diseases. Tsai shi tso ntsau also bit his teeth together firmly and ate the demon of coughs. When he has eaten it, he wants you old folks of this family clear about it (and without ills, etc.). They ate the demon of sickness and the demon of groans so that they could not harm people. They cannot harm the family of you old people. When the demon of the forest and those of the grasslands come they cannot injure your young people and cannot injure your garden.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

H. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When the smoke arises, we again call. We call the lady sun to come forward. We call to the moon young man to come to the front. When the lady sun has come out, it has shone; it has shone on the souls of you old people's farming and on the five grains. She will also shine on the souls of the domestic animals including cattle and horses. She also shone on the souls of your descendants. She has shone on enough to fill the house. She shone on enough to fill the central floor of the house. The souls in the center pushed out. Those on the two sides went out on each side, and some surged out through the middle door. The front and the rear were full and they went out slowly.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong a while).

I. When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises. When the smoke rises, then we again call. We call the Nts'ai hwa (girl cloud) to come from the sky above. We call nd^{z}ʌu^{5} dʒa$^{\cdot 7}$ (male wind) to come from the land above the sky. Nts'ai hwa came and smoked the eyes of the demons of sickness and the demons of death so they could not see. She also smoked the demons of the forest and those of the grasslands. nd^{z}ʌu^{5} dʒa$^{\cdot 7}$ came and blew. When he blew, the roads of sickness of this family were cut off. When he blew the sounds of the groaning and the sounds of sickness were ended. He blew the sound of the sickness into the water. They blew the demons until they were unable to grow (or live). He blew the demons of the grasslands and those of the forests and vanquished them below the white cliffs. The demons of the forests and those of the grasslands cannot come back.

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong a while).

J. When the beeswax is burning, the smoke arises. When the smoke rises, we will call again. We will call a pair of Chinese from Wu Lang Yo. (Here he beats the gong).

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When the white wax is burning, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will again come and call. We will call a Chinese *Ho Lan Tsi* to come to the front. The Chinese from Wu Lang Yo lighted the lantern and lighted things. They will lighten the soul of this family as it comes and enters the room. The two Chinese from Honan brought the lantern and lighted (the room) together. They will lighten that family's living soul as it returns to the guest room. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) half way along the road and lighten its souls as they return home. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) to half way along the road. They will lighten the souls of the family as they come back and return to their garden squares, (where the gardens are divided into squares for planting different things).

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong as usual).

II. USING THE CHINESE LANGUAGE TO SUMMON CHINESE GODS

At this time, the paper horns must be taken off the *tuan kung's* 端公 head and he does not beat the gong but merely stands up and calls or sings.

"I call the six stars of the southern dipper (cross), the seven stars of the northern dipper. In the name of *Li Lao Güin* I speak to the Great Pearly (jade) Emperor above and below to *Kuan Shih Yin* (*Kuan-Yin*) of Nan Hai."

Now he must speak the Miao language to exorcise demons.

When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call ntsoƆ jin (a person who was once a prophet of Ntsə, a revered patron of the *tuan kung*) who lives at the foot of Ntsə's great stone called the stone bamboo sprout. Call also na· bo· sʌn jin to come from Ntsə's old colored cliff. Call the ninety-nine layered cliff to come to the front. Call the mountain with eighty-eight layers to come to the front. Also call the cliff with ninety-nine layers to come and separate. Separate people into their homes and demons to the land of demons. Separate people so that they will not go near demons and demons so that they will not go near men.

III. MAKING A CONTAINER

A large bamboo container shallow and with a flat bottom is used. In it are placed bean-curd, biscuits, wine, meat, paper (spirit) money, incense and candles. (Some put water and a little rice in a rice bowl also).

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A. If I am not to make this vessel (container made of bamboo), then I will not. If you make such a vessel, it is harder and harder. If I make the vessel, it is not very hard. From this time, if you make the vessel, it has a beginning. A piece of bamboo is braided back and forth. The two ends are cut off and you use the middle. A slanting weave (road) is made and a slanting edge. On the two sides are made slanting edges and in the middle is made a square. There is a slanting weave and a slanting edge. We request the Emperor Jên Tsung 仁宗 to sit in the center. The slanting weave comes, beginning with the man character (i.e., the weave, slanting in two directions resembles the character 人 "man"). We request the Emperor Jên Tsung to come and sit on a high seat.

(As he speaks these words, the demon is supposed to be driven away).

B. First I call the wood characters 甲乙 *chia i* from the east. Secondly, I invite the fire characters 丙丁. In the third place call the water character *jên kuei* 壬癸 from the west. Fourthly call the metal characters from the north *kêng hsin* 庚辛. Fifth, call from the middle the earth character *wu chi* 戊己. (These are on the round object used by Chinese geomancers and are here regarded as demons).

(The *tuan kung* 端公 hear shouts "t'ai" and stamps his foot to frighten the demons).

First, call Mao Ta Lang (the oldest son of the Mao family). Second, invite the second son of the Mao family. Third, call the third son of the Mao family. Fourth, invite the fourth son of the Mao family. Fifth, invite the fifth son of the Mao family. Six, invite the sixth son of the Mao family. Seventh, invite the seventh son of the Mao family. Also invite the flowery mountain sister. Then the pitcher of wine and the sliced meat will emit light (because the gods have come). If one's head aches and one's whole body aches, it is you (i.e., the demons mentioned above). If your stomach aches and the flesh flinches, it is you. If the heat and cold are not in harmony, and coolness and warmness are not peaceful, it is you. If one's body is feverish, it is you. To be hot and then cold, it is you. If the whole body aches, it is you emitting light. If the whole body aches as though bound, it is you emitting great light. If the whole body is bound, it is you emitting great light. Please come up on this container (flowery vessel) and go forward. There are some people killing a pig and pouring out wine on the stone-paved road who have invited you. Come, come, we will go together. This is not a place where you will stay a long time. It is not a place where you can tie up your horse. In this place there is the foul odor of urine and human ordure. Go, go, go, get on the container. Let us go together.

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When he has repeated the ceremonial to this point, he puts the container on the ground. He regards the demons as having been led (invited) into the vessel and he will open a light for these demons.

IV. OPENING UP THE LIGHTS, PLACING IMAGES

A pair of candles made of beeswax shine brightly. People in the future will have no use for the candles. I (the student) will in the future open up the gods' (source of) light. When I have opened the light of the head, the head is well. When I have opened up the light of the eyes, then the two eyes are bright. When I have opened up the ear-light, the two ears will hear in all four directions. When the nose-light has been opened up, then the bridge of the nose will give good light. When the light of the mouth has been opened up, the mouth-light will hold sixteen pairs. When the hand-light has been opened up, then the hands can be doctors and go in all directions. When the stomach-light, there will be inside the abdomen several tens of intestines. When the foot-light has been opened up, the feet can be doctors and go in all four directions. (When they have opened up the light, the *tuan kung* 端公 must use incense and candles and burn them for the demons mentioned above. When the light is being opened up in the different places mentioned above, blood from a rooster's comb is used and smeared on that part of the paper figures that have been cut out and placed in the bamboo container).

V. MAKING A GRASS MAN

Grass must be taken off the roof of a straw-roofed house.

If I am not to make this straw man. I will not make it. When people make straw men, it is very hard. But when I make straw men, it is not hard. The Emperor Jên Tsung 仁宗 made a vow (to God?) to present twenty-four human heads. I will make a straw man as a substitute for the sick person's body.

(At this point the ceremony of opening the light is repeated as recorded in Section IV. In both places, exactly the same words are used).

He again says, "If I am not to make a straw man, I will not make it. If I myself make a straw man it will not be hard. I will pull off (from the roof) a bunch of straw with which to make him. (The straw man is made by placing part of the straw with heads in one direction, part in the other). I will make a man of it to substitute for your body" (as a gift to the demon of sickness who will then desist from trying to capture the patient through his death).

(At this point the ceremony for opening light is again repeated as noted above).

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VI. ESCORTING OUT THE STRAW MAN

On the tree is hung out long paper (spirit) money that is white like silver. In the future, people will have no use for it (the spirit money). I will use (the spirit money to display my glory and skill by driving out demons). I will not sweep away this family's wealth or silks (and satins). I will sweep away the demons and quarrels. I will not sweep this family's wealth and happiness. I will sweep away this family's demons and quarrels. I will sweep away the sky pestilences, the earth pestilences. When I have swept them away your whole bodies will be free from sorrow and sickness. With one (uttered) sound, I will sweep away the (demons of) prize fighters and doctors who have no pupils (to worship them after death and therefore become demons), and castrators of animals who are without pupils, and men who put coal or wood on fires who are without pupils. I will sweep them upon the hua· p'an (the container described in III), malarial fevers, and masons who make the foundations for the pillarstones and idols and are without pupils (to make offerings to their teachers after they have died), roaming demons of carvers, roaming demons of painters, roaming demons of actors, and I will sweep them upon the container (hua· p'an) and cause them to straddle the mountains and cross the passes. (I will sweep away) the demon of a second son who calls dogs, the demons that whistle for winds, and those who whistle on their fingers (to call dogs) with their lips, and the two who assist the *tuan kung* 端公 (by leaping, called the *ma chiao* 馬腳, demons of those who were skillful in bending bows and shooting arrows, the king of demons who controls burial by cremation; I will sweep them onto the container.

VII. SENDING AWAY GODS (DEMONS)

After you have called the gods to you, you must send them away. The gongs and drums are beating loudly. If the common people beat them they will be useless. If I beat them, he can escort away those of glory and skill, to send the gods away. To send the gods to the crossings of the great roads, to send the gods back, to send the gods to the crossing of the big roads. The gong resounds, the drum resounds. A wife and a concubine had three (sons) brothers. Lo alone (among them) was taken away to be a soldier. He met (the demons) and fought a battle. The upper part of his body could fight but the lower part of his body was weak. He fought until the demon's whole body was dripping blood. It was like the hairy caterpillar meeting the stinging worm, the offended person (i.e., who has been harmed and is strong because angry) meeting his enemy. If (the demon) meets us, we will fight a battle. That side will lose and I will win.

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(When he has reached this point—all has been spoken—then the knife in the *tuan kung's* 端公 hand is circled once around the container and his foot is circled around it once. Then he carries it outside the house and the hua p'an, the straw man, the paper money, the paper net, the paper rope, and so on and the demons enticed there, are burned on the cross-roads).

VIII. PREPARING WATER

(Put a bowl of water on the table. The *tuan kung* 端公 rolls a sheet of paper into a round tube, lights it and puts it in the water. He must repeat the following incantations).

We are preparing a bowl of water which is not ordinary water. It is water from the great ocean of the dragon king. It is snow water, water of commands (command water). Common people after this will have no use for it. I will use it in the future to conceal my body and Hua T'o 華陀 water, (the name of a great Chinese physician of the Three Kingdoms), water to protect the body, water of the six stars of the southern cross, of the seven stars of the northern dipper, and of Li Lao Chün 李老君 (Lao Tzu 老子), water of Kuanyin of the south sea, water of the roaring god of thunder and the drizzling rain, water to protect ones home, water to cut off the heads of the demons and the spooks and such strange creatures, water of the commanding bugle, water of the commanding Erh Lang 二郎 a Szechwan god; (he represents the originator of the Chengtu plain irrigation system), water of the commands of seven sons of the lotus flower, and water of the commands of five sons who became great officials.

IX. STRIKING WITH THE LIN P'AI

On the table is a *lin p'ai* 令牌. Will the general with sharp hairs please arise and sit in the large hall for gods? Let the lesser gods arrange themselves in rows on the two sides. Let (the general with sharp hairs) be seated in the center of the hall and (the lesser gods) arrange themselves in rows on each side. Will the general of sharp hairs please arise? Will the roaring god of thunder and the deity of drizzling rain behead unclean demons and behead spooks? Stamp once with your feet and roar once and then the unclean demons and spooks will at once start off.

(When he has spoken to this point, he must take the *lin p'ai* and circle it about on his body. When this is done the *tuan kung* 端公 must stamp his seal on the body of the sick person).

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X. DISPLAYING THE SEAL

The *tuan kung* 端公 takes a seal in his hands and displays it toward the person who is ill in order to chase away the demons and repeats the following.

One seal is displayed toward heaven. One seal is displayed toward the earth. One seal falls on the person's head. Ten demons see it and nine demons are sad.

Two seals fall on the person's body. The ten demons see it and nine demons fall. Three seals fall on the person's hand (he brings it down three times on the person's hand. The seal prints a charm probably). When the ten demons see it nine of them depart. Four seals fall on a person's breast. Ten demons see it and nine go quickly. Five seals on the (sick) person's foot, and the unclean demons and spooks fall off (the sick person). They fall off his body and off his feet and he is peaceful.

XI. DRAWING WITH A SWORD

The *tuan kung* 端公 holds his hand and circles it about to the left and to the right and he repeats the following.

I take the sword in my hand and cut off the heads of unclean demons and spooks. I will not behead wealth and silks and satins but cut off the demons of quarrels. I will not behead wealth and happiness but I will behead unclean demons and demons (of quarrels) with the mouth and the teeth. I will cut off the heads of demons of sky pestilences and demons of smallpox and measles and of the demons of stiff (paralyzed) legs diseases. I have cut off the heads of five demons and of the demons of this year's pestilences. The five demons have five heads. If ten people see it, there will be heads of nine people. The five demons have five bags. If the saints in the sky see it, they will bow themselves (from the waist). The five demons in the parlor are sitting. If there is no calamity, there must be woes. The blood of the five demons shines. If you do not become ill, you will have boils. The bird is the spirit of a white tiger. He that creeps in the forest (a snake) is a white tiger. A mourner is a white tiger. One with four feet is a white tiger. Each road has five pestilences. I will escort them onto the container hua p'an.

(When he has repeated to this point, the *tuan kung* takes the knife, moves it and encircles it once).

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XII. GOING INTO HADES

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Hades is not below but it is a dark place. The *tuan kung* 端公 wears the paper horns on his head and covers up his face with grass paper (coarse bamboo paper). In his hand he takes his ceremonial knife. On his finger he hangs his small ring bell. He sits on a stool as he would on a horse. He sets some grass paper on fire and puts the flame all over the stool to open the light so that the stool can see. Then he sits down and calls his gods and he is like a dead person (if you speak to him or punch him, he will not notice it). He merely repeats his incantations. His body bends to the right and to the left. He does this for four hours. He calls his gods using the words below.

"When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. It arises up to Ntsə's land. It goes down as far as the earth prefecture (of the demon king). Ah. go quickly, go quickly, TAv, TAv, TAv" (he makes thus the noise of a horse running; his lips resound at the end of each syllable). He says:—

"When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises up to the sky. Let ninety-nine lanterns come and go to the front. Call nine thousand (soldier) horsemen to come and go to the front. Quickly bring the saddles and saddle the horses. Bring the bridles and put them in the horses' mouths. Leap on the mules' backs. Leap onto the backs of the donkeys. Leap onto the backs of the big horses. TAv, TAv, TAv (horses running).

"The horses run quickly and well. Go up to Ntsə's land. Go down to the prefecture of Hades. Hurry and bring the lanterns and lamps and lighten (up the way). The flags and the bugles go round and round. The long-handled knives (*ko* 戈) and spears with their handles shine blackly. I am going to go down to the prefecture of Hades. I am going to ascend to Ntsə's land. The red flags go around and around and go up into the heavenly palace. There are numerous men and horses as rising water (of rivers and streams). I go down to the prefecture of the earth and also arrive at Ntsə's land. I arrive at the great palace of the five emperors. Quickly open up widely your main door. I am going to enter the city. I have business or I would not enter the door of your precious palace. Quickly open very wide your main gate. I am going to enter and investigate people. TAv, TAv, TAv. The horses are running fast. I have entered the first gate of the palace. I have entered the second gate of the palace. I have entered the third gate of the palace. I have entered the fourth gate of the palace. I have entered the fifth gate of the palace.

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789 "I have entered into the great palace of the five emperors. Old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors, I am going to come and investigate people. My men and horses are very numerous. The lanterns and torches shine in all directions. Shine brightly, shine brightly. Investigate carefully. Investigate carefully and come again and investigate carefully. When you have investigated, your hand above deliver the souls I want to me and I will (below) give money to you. I have money. It is not easy money to get. It is truly money to exchange for lives (souls). I have three thousand times ten thousand copper coins. With a hand above we give the money. With a hand below you give the people (to me). One hand gives the money and another hand gives (receives) the people. Let the same hand give quickly (do not change hands but act quickly.) Search well, investigate well. Give all the souls to me, one, then the second. Give me all the three *hun* 魂 and the seven *p'o* 魄. Give them up nicely. Give them up well and put them on the horses. Write with a red pen (ink) and mark it with a black pen (ink). (Then the person will not die. Officials write with black ink and mark with red ink if the person is to be executed). Mark the three *hun* and the seven *p'o* to return to the world. With the upper hand, hand over the people. With the lower hand (I) give the money. God's old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors(?) give me peoples' three souls and seven *p'o*. You who are in the world, quickly throw the divining sticks (one up and one down) and send money (burn spirit money). Ntsə's old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors, thank you. We will ride the horses and go back again. On all sides, lighten up with the lanterns and torches. We have gone out of one of the palace doors and closed the first palace door. We have gone out of the second palace door and closed the second palace door. We have gone out of the third palace door and closed the third palace door. We have gone out of the fourth palace door and closed the fourth palace door. We have gone out of the fifth palace door and closed the fifth palace door.

"On the left is a person (general) who keeps the gate. On the right side is a demon gatekeeper. Thank you, thank you. I will ride the horses back to earth."

(At this point he certainly must speak the Miao language. He might use Chinese sometimes before).

XIII. GOING INTO HADES

XAN, XAN, XAN, whip the mules. Let the big horses go very quickly. Raise the lanterns and the torches higher. TAV, TAV, TAV. We are going up to Ntsə's sky above. We will go and dance at the flower altar. The *hua t'an* 花壇 is in Ntsə's heaven above. We will see if his flowery altar has

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come out or not. We will see if the time for using the flowery altar and the flowery drum has come. We are going to climb Ntsɔ's heavenly ladder. One section, two sections, three sections, (four sections), five sections, six sections, seven sections, eight sections, nine sections, ten sections, eleven sections, twelve sections. When we have climbed the twelve sections, then you have reached the house in heaven. We will see if Ntsɔ's li tsɔ flowers are blooming or not. We will see if the pears are bearing fruit. I, see, see, the pear blossoms have dried up. The insects are eating the pear trees. They do not bloom nor bear fruit. XAn, XAn, quickly take the brass fan and fan it. (The tree is the souls of my parents. Pear blossoms are daughters, pears are sons. If the tree dries up, the parents will suffer and there will be no descendants). Bring the iron fan and fan it (then the tree will prosper). Quickly release the falcons (sparrow hawks) to eat the insects. ja^{2}, the tree is clean and leaves are growing, and it is blossoming. The blossoms are blooming all over the tree. The fruit is growing all over the tree.

We will also see if the rice field is full of water and if the lake is dry or not. Ah, we will call Ntsɔ's mbao To t'ao to come and repair it. We will also call Ntsɔ's mbao To t'oɔ to come and help dig the ditch deeper and repair the lake and dragon pool. I will also see if the other family's flower tree has fallen or not. We also must see if that family's young fruit tree is crooked or not. We will call Ntsɔ's mbao To tsai to come to help lift it straight, to lift that family's young flower tree until it stands firm. We will go quickly and we will see if the flowery altar has many people or not and the flowery drum has many people about it or not. We will call Ntsɔ's mbao To jai to come and help uncover it. We will also call Ntsɔ's mbao To jai to come and help unbind it, to allow (the souls in) the flowery altar to go away (in several directions), to uncover the flowery altar so that the souls can fly off. Let us light the lanterns and lamps to see if that family's souls are complete or not and to see where the *hun* 魂 and *p'o* of that family have gone. A-, a-, the souls of the family of those people went early. The *hun* and the *p'o* have all gone. xAn, xAn, lift the lanterns and the torches higher. Drive the horses and pursue quickly. We will call Ntsɔ's mbao To-ts'ai to follow you (god's sons who are excellent pursuers). We must look after the souls of the old people as they return home. You must look after the *hun* and the *p'o* of the old people as they return to the world. Call this family's souls to come quickly. *Hun* and *p'o* come quickly. This is not your sleeping place. This is not your dwelling. This place is rotten like chicken manure and rotten like duck manure. Come quickly, let us go. Ah, ah, they have been caught (the souls), they have been caught.

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• 789 We have caught the souls of these old people (of this family). Ai, I have caught them. I have caught the *hun* and *p'o* and they are in my hands. Bring them and put them in my hands. Catch them and put them in my hands. Bring the souls and put them on the backs of the mules and bring the lanterns and lamps to make light. They must show if the souls are cleared or not (all present or not) and the *hun* and *p'o* are all here or not. Give the souls to the leaders of the troops to bring. Let the several generals catch the souls. Catch them carefully, bring them home and let them control their families. If one is missing, I will call you to account. Let us bring the lanterns and lamps and light them. We are going home. TAV, TAV, TAV, the horses come rapidly. We are going down the ladder of heaven. We go down the first section, second section, third section, fourth section, fifth section, sixth section, seventh section, eighth section, ninth section, tenth section, eleventh section, twelfth section,

"I come to thank you, Ntsə, to give thanks to you, Ntsə. Above I will inform Ntsə's heavenly palace. Below, we will inform the old people, $T\varepsilon^5$ bo^9 and $T\varepsilon^5$ $ʒ\varepsilon^9$. I have come to thank you, to express thankfulness to you. I am going to drive the horses and return home. Leap off the horses, leap off the backs of the colts, steady the horses, for we are going to go back. TAV, TAV, TAV, TAV, we have come back and are getting off the horses."

At this time the *tuan kung* 端公 must again cast the bamboo divining instrument and say: See if the three *hun* and the seven *p'o* are complete or not, if they have come or not. (Here he again casts the divining instruments. If not correct, the souls are not all present). He must once get a *yang kua* 陽卦 throw. He must also get three *yin kua* 陰卦 in order to protect the body of the sick person. When this is done, he has finished this part of the ceremonies.

XIV. SENDING BACK THE GODS AND MENTIONING THE DEMONS

(A lump of meat must be used with wine and arranged properly and the *tuan kung* 端公 repeats the following).

In the midst of sending back the gods, you must send away the demons. If I am not to mention demons, I will (nevertheless) mention demons. When mentioning demons, the demons' hair is untied and worn on the back of the head with the tongue hanging out and I call it a *tiao ching kuei* 吊頸鬼 (a demon that died by hanging). If I am not to mention demons, I will not. This demon is beneath the bed. A person sleeps on the bed. If I am to mention demons, I

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will mention them. Speaking of demons, they sit on the rafters. Tonight, I know you. Ntsoo jin (an ancient *tuan kung*), bo sʌn (a woman who talks in a tone pleasant to hear) will come and catch you. If we do not speak of demons, we will yet speak of them. Speaking of demons, they are upstairs. Tonight, in the night, I know about you. Yang Shih Güin Tzŭ will make things clear of you (demons). If we do not mention demons, we will then mention them. To mention the demons, they live in the cow pen. Tonight I know you. The *t'u ti* of the south gate will clear things of you. If we do not mention demons we will then mention them. To mention demons, they are in the pig pen. Tonight, I know you. The gods of the pen door will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we then mention them. The demons live on the stove. Tonight I know you. The kitchen goddess will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are sleeping in the bedroom. Tonight I know you. The king of the bedcurtain will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are in the firepit. Tonight I know you. The fire-gods heir to the throne will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are sitting in the guest room. Tonight I know you. The family gods and family demons (the souls of the ancestors) will exorcise you. To mention the demons, they are sitting below the door (the cross-piece at the bottom of the door). Tonight I know you. The god of wealth and the door spirits will exorcise you. A grain of rice is sharp on both ends. Tonight I will injure you. I will not harm the family's wealth or silks or satins. I will injure the demonic mouths and tongues (of demons). I will injure the sky pestilences and the earth pestilences, annual pestilences, monthly pestilences, daily pestilences and hourly pestilences. Tonight I will take you away. I will take you away so that men will not associate with demons, and demons will not associate with men.

XV. CALLING BACK SOULS

Pl'ei[5] lo[2], pl'ei[5] lo[2]* (souls come, souls come), come quickly. Ah, souls, come quickly. Ah souls, all come. The soul was reborn (as a babe) and came back. (It can leave the babe temporarily, or permanently and cause death). It was reborn in another person and still came back. He went into a family's flowergarden and came back. He went into the deep creek, stopped and came back. Come quickly, come quickly.

(When the *tuan kung* 端公 has repeated to this point, he uses an axe and strikes the crossbeam at the bottom of the main door).

*Pl'ei is generally pronounced blei.

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The bird frightened you and you came. The rat frightened you and you came. A domestic animal frightened you and you came. You stopped on the level spot on the mountain and came back. You dropped on the big flat and came back also. You dropped on the cliff and also came. You dropped on the crossroads and also came back. If you do not come, my big knife that calls souls and fights demons will be your companion. Today is a good day and tonight is a good night. Come more quickly. Come rapidly. Come, come, come back to your bed and come back to your father and your mother. Come and follow your brothers. Live (here) 1000 years, live here 100 years. Poles cannot pierce into you and nets cannot catch you. You may live here until your hair becomes white. You may live here until you are an old man (with hair) that is gray. You can sit with your hands on your knees (as old people do) and your knees bent. Come more quickly, come, come. If I call you and you do not come, my axe will be your companion. Come quickly. You have come, you have come.

(When calling the soul, the *tuan kung* grasps an axe. He uses a person who has an egg in his hand or the *tuan kung* may hold a rooster in his arms. When the soul arrives, then the egg will fall over. Then he will take the egg and burn it in the fire-pit. When the egg is cooked, then the *tuan kung* cuts it open and looks and says whether it has a soul or not. The egg must be cooked on an even day of the month not on an odd day. One, three or five eggs may be burned).

XVI. SETTING UP THE FAMILY GODS

A pair of candles must be lighted or a sheet of grass paper, rolled up into a long thin roll. The *tuan kung* 端公 carries these in his hand and walks around and around toward the center of the house. Then he says:

If the people of a family are not free from demons (if they are ill), the family gods are not at peace. When the *hua t'an* 花壇 ceremony is completed, I will open the light and I will sprinkle some chicken's blood.

When a pair of beeswax candles burn, then the smoke arises and it shines brightly in the home of you old people. If an ordinary person brings them (the candles), it is useless. I will use them to open the light of the family gods (ancestors). When I have opened up the light of the head, the head will lean in all directions. When I have opened the light of the eyes, the two eyes will be very bright. When I have opened up the light of the ears, the two ears will hear in all four directions. When I have opened up the light of the nose,

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the two nostrils will emit good light. When I have opened up the light of the mouth, the mouth will contain sixteen pairs of teeth. When I have opened up the light to the hands, the hands will protect all four directions. When I open up the light to the feet, the feet will stand firmly like a rock pillar. When I have opened up the light and sprinkled chicken-blood on the image of paper, the chunk of meat and clean wine will be placed on the table and I will come and set up the gods in their places. When I have opened up the light and sprinkled blood on the paper image, we will call wealth here and if there are calamities we will exorcise them. I will protect the master of this home so that he will go out with empty hands and come back carrying wealth. One seed will fall into the ground and 10,000 will return to the granary. You will raise cows as big as mountains and pigs as big as cows. After we have opened up the light for the house-gods, you will be protected and peaceful forever.

XVII. OPENING UP THE LIGHT FOR THE FRONT DOOR

The front door has been opened three feet, three inches high. Open it during the day, close it at night. After it is opened tonight if you have wealth, I will bring wealth. If you have calamities, I will remove them and I will protect and give peace to the large and the small of the house and drive away all diseases. The cows you raise will be as big as the top (head) of a mountain and the pigs you raise will be as big as steers. I will protect the old members of this family so that they can go out with empty hands and come back carrying wealth and silks and satins in their arms. One grain will fall to the ground and 10,000 be reaped and brought home. When people come, the door-gods will open up. If demons come, the door-gods will beat them. If wealth comes, the door-gods will entice it to enter. If demons come, the door-gods will drive them away. If calamities come, the door-gods will exorcise them. If wealth and happiness come, the door-gods will welcome them either by day or by night; they will receive them every day and not cease at night. They will not cease a quarter of an hour. They look away as far as 1000 *li*. Near by, they will look in all four directions. With their eyes they will see clearly and with their mouths they will beat demons and spooks in two. They will open the door to people of this world and close the door to demons. They will only permit people of this world to come and not permit the people of Hades (demons) to go.

(After the above has been repeated, the door is opened for a time, then closed for a time and the ceremony is ended).

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XVIII. REQUESTING THE DOOR GODS TO CAREFULLY REMEMBER THE NAMES OF THE DEMONS

The very thin demons without flesh are named dry, lean demons (glaɔ ntgʌu). The very tall, very large demons that are able to climb mountains are called climb-mountains-cross-passes, (glaɔ^{6} Ta^{5} nTo^{2}). The demon that nets for wild animals is called ɛʌn^{3} ɔga^{2} (grows-flesh). The demons of women who died in childbirth are called glaɔ^{6} so^{6} (demon that sheds red blood). The demons that cause people to vomit and their hearts to be disturbed are called glaɔ^{6} Ta^{5} (vomiting demons). Demons that cause people to have malarial fever are called glaɔ^{6} nao^{5} (cold demons). Demons that cause people to die from hunger and thirst are called glaɔ^{6} tg'ai^{6} (hunger demons) or glaɔ^{6} nk'ai^{5} (thirst demons). Demons that cause people to drown are called glaɔ^{6} glei^{5} (water demons). Demons that cause people to die by hanging are called glaɔ^{6} ɛʌu^{5} (hanging demons). The demons in caves are called glaɔ^{6} tsao (demons that rush out of caves). Demons that cause children to cry at night are called glaɔ^{6} dza^{5} la^{5} (naked demons). Demons that cause abortion are called glaɔ^{6} ts'ʌu^{5} (demons that throw away on the hill). Demons that cause young men and women to be sad and to make long sighs are called glaɔ^{6} ntgoɔ (enticing demons).

If such demons as these come, let the door-gods use brass clubs and beat them and they will not come.

XIX. OPENING LOCKS

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The master of the house must find several sheets of yellow paper. The *tuan kung* 端公 uses a pair of scissors and cuts the paper into a net (sky-net, earth-net) and an imitation iron chain and brass lock, which he ties on the body of the sick person. (This is done when they believe that the illness is caused by a demon having locked a lock and chain around the neck of the sick person). The *tuan kung* beats a gong, carries an iron cooking-pot, heats the iron point of a plow and puts his foot on it, and he unlocks the door for the sick person. Then he says, "Water comes from the sky to grind knives with. On earth are people to cut off intercourse (contacts between men and demons), unloose the brass nets, unloose the iron nets, unloose the sky nets, unloose the earth nets, open up cages and release birds, unloose nets and release fish, unloose brass armor, unloose iron armor, unloose brass nets and iron nets, unloose brass chains and iron chains, unlock brass locks and iron locks, unloose brass threads and iron threads (that have bound people). If the head aches, release the body, if the body aches, release the feet, and when the body and the feet have been released, and

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when the head aches remove the heat (of the body) and when the body aches, it becomes cool. Drink tea, peace-giving tea. Drink the peace-giving water. Do not wait until daylight. When I say it, immediately depart. If we say it at midnight, depart at midnight. If any do not depart, I will call Rong sji'n's fire from heaven to burn you away.

(When the *tuan kung* has spoken this far, he takes the paper chain and the paper net and the paper lock and puts them all into the winnowing basket, carries them outside the door, and burns them at the crossroads).

XX. REVIVING ONE WHO HAS FAINTED

(Reviving sha—The Miao believe, like the Chinese, that there is a poisonous air called *sha ch'i* 殺氣 that kills people. When a person swoons, he has been injured by *sha ch'i* and a *tuan kung* 端公 can revive him by chasing away the demons.)

The *tuan kung* opens and holds above him an umbrella of oiled paper. He throws a handful of mustard seed. If he has no mustard seed, he throws a handful of corn. When he throws he shouts, "t'ai, t'ai," and stamps his feet. He says, "Beat the sky demon, beat the earth demon, beat the human demon. Beat the sky demon and send back (what the sky demon has brought) the sky *sha ch'i*. Beat the earth demon and send back the earth *sha* (ch'i). Beat the dead person's demons and send away the *sha* (*ch'i*) of the dead people. Beat the demon of the living people and send back living people's *sha ch'i*. Beat the year demon and send away the year *sha ch'i*. Beat the month demon and send away the month *sha*. Beat the day demon and send away the day *sha*. Beat the time demon sï hou and send away the time *sha*; beat the fierce god who wickedly kills people and turn back the great *sha ch'i* of everything. t'ai t'ai, (and he stamps with his foot), "quickly strike, quickly recede. Recede, recede. recede."

XXI. HOLDING DOWN THE FIRE STAR (MARS)

I have held (pressed) down the fire of Heaven. I have held down the fire of earth. I have pressed down the fire of the year. I have pressed down the fire of the month. I have pressed down the fire of the day. I have pressed down the fire of the moment (time). I have pressed down the fire of the central room. I have pressed down the center of the fire. I have pressed down the fire of the *yin* 陰 (the female principle). I have pressed down the fire of the *yang* 陽 (male principle). I have pressed down the fire of the sun. I have pressed down the fire that likes to kill people (without affection). I have pressed down the demon fire. I have pressed down the fire of living people. I have pressed down the drive-away-*yin* fire. I have pressed down the detain-*yang*

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789 fire (demon's fire). Leave the *yang* fire to control the home. Drive the *yin* fire to hades (where demons live). Secure *yang* fire to control the family and make it peaceful (without demons). Drive the *yin* fire to the *yin* spirit (or soul). Leave the *yang* fire to control the family so it will be peaceful. If the fire is a foot high, let water be ten feet high. If fire is ten feet high, water will flood up to heaven and hold down the fire.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 uses a bowl of water and as walks along in the house, repeating his words, he sprinkles water with his hands. When he has finished speaking, he pours out the water from the bowl and the bowl on the table upside down).

XXII. INCANTATION TO DIVINE BY MEANS OF UNCOOKED RICE

787 There is a sky pestilence and an earth pestilence so I come to report to the god. (The uncooked rice is treated and addressed as a god). If there is any unsatisfactory matter I shall come and report to the god. If the head aches and the whole body is hot, we shall come and report to the god. If there is any unworshipped demon of the *t'an shen* or ruined temples, I shall come and report to the gods. If there is any fierce god that kills people, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any grass demon, wood demon, or demon of the forest, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any fierce (murderer) I shall report the fierce matter. If there is anything hard, we shall report it. Without something important, we shall not wantonly report. Without something fierce, we shall not wantonly report.

(When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family).

XXIII. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMON THAT PUNISHES SIN BY PAIN IN THE EYES

789 758 If you bump (sin) against wood, the wood demon will enter you and harm your eyes. If you bump (sin) against wood, wood will harm you. If you bump (sin) against stone, stone will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a grave, the grave will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the stone of the cow pen, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a stone of a stove, it will harm you. If you bump

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(sin) against the dya of the stove, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against grass, wood or stone, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against all the things in a home, they will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the eastern direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the western direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the north direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the west direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against water it will harm you and it will immediately fade away. If you bump (sin) against wood, it will fade away. From the time we have repeated this to-day, you will be well.

(While the above is being repeated, the *tuan kung* uses grass paper to sweep. When he has finished sweeping, he takes a bowl of water and cooked rice and pours it out on the ground).

XXIV. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMONS THAT CAUSE WOMEN TO LOSE THEIR CHILDREN OR TO HAVE MISCARRIAGES

After the *tuan kung* 端公 has called the gods, then he must repeat the following and it will enable her to normally give birth to babies and to bring them up. He must actually hold or press down the demons. After he has done this, he worships the gods and the men and women of the family must worship. He says:

"The sky sinned against the sky monkey and neither the moon nor the sun shone any more. The earth sinned against the earth monkey and the grass and trees would not grow. If a person sins against the monkey that climbs the cliffs, he will dry up. To-day I will free you from this and you will immediately get well."

XXV. PREPARING SIX HORSES AND BRIDGE BEAMS FOR THE SICK

As the method of arranging the bridges, you must use 12 feet of cloth and arrange it well, and four stools, one above the other. The *tuan kung* uses a brass gong and alternately beats it and speaks. He says:

"The difficult bridge and the six horses are spoilt. I will protect the sick person. When the three *hun* 魂 and the seven *p'o* 魄 come upon the bridge, I will wear an iron hat on my head."

(He will put the brass gong on his head and pretend that he is wearing a hat. On his feet he is supposed to wear iron-topped boots. He brings the brass gong and pretends to put on shoes. He should wear brass armor also, and he uses the brass gong to imitate this).

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789 "Come and lead a thousand soldiers and horses and 19,000 fortresses."

755 "Soldiers and horses come upon the bridge. The rest may be repeated like the first one in this book."

XXVI. CALLING WATER TO BECOME DIVINE FOR THE GODS TO DRINK

789 Use a bowl or a pot and put water inside. Cover it with three sheets of paper and a piece of cloth. The *tuan kung* 端公 repeats:

"Ntsə's water in heaven is called the water from the river in heaven brought by the prince of heaven. The old man of the earth brought water of the earth below and from the creek he brings water of the rivers and seas. From the home he takes incense fire and beeswax fragrant water. From the rice field he brings water of the rice-plants. Ntsə G jin brought water to destroy demons."

XXVII. CALLING WATER TO EXORCISE DEMONS

(Spoken in Chinese).

"Water is the source of the heaven and the earth, the foundation of all living things, widely cultivating people's happiness, used by people in heaven and on earth, inside and outside. For tao 道 learning,* you are reverenced and your body has marvellous light to protect our bodies so that seeing we do not see, hearing we do not hear, and you can protect us in heaven and on earth and nourish all our lives, and propagate it a thousand times. You are bright. Heaven and earth will come and wait upon and protect you. In ancient times *Wu Ti* 武帝 would welcome you. All gods of virtue will come and worship you. It uses the thunder and lightning. Demons and spooks will lose their courage. Your learning *tao* will last forever. I have also called you. Without affairs you stabilize space and control people."

(When this is finished the *tuan kung* 端公 takes water and sprinkles it in all directions and says the following in Chinese."

"When I sprinkle this once, above it pacifies fire calamities. (Lest fire break out). When I sprinkle this a second time, below it will pacify cave demons. When I sprinkle the third time, in the center it will avoid calamities. When I sprinkle the fourth time, there will be peace among men."

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*This is the Chinese word *tao* 道 and of course the meaning is far more inclusive than the English term "learning". To the Ch'uan Miao interpreter it seemed that the word "learning" came very near to what *tao* means to the Ch'uan Miao.

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XXVIII. TO PREVENT BLOOD FROM FLOWING CUT WITH A KNIFE AND REPEAT THIS INCANTATION

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When I go to the east, it is black. In my hand, I hold a golden knife and I ride an iron cow. I will cut in two the mouths of two creeks that flow together. I will stop the bubbles under the skin so that the blood will not flow. Above is the head of the rapids. Stop up (like a stopper) the sky river. Below is the head of a rapid. We shall stop up the yellow river. A well with two mouths, we will stop the blood of the skin so the blood will not flow. We will stab in two the water of the western river so it will not flow. The blood prince (a male deity) is named *ch'iu* 秋 (autumn). The blood woman is named *liu* 流 (flow). One road (of the blood) changes to ten roads (in veins and arteries). Ten roads change to a hundred roads. A hundred roads change to a thousand roads. All the roads have definiteness. All the roads have spirits (intelligence). First, do not deceive me. Secondly, do not deceive other people who have come. If you still bleed, I will add a golden lion cat and stop it.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 must use his two hands and twist them like a lion. Then he says:)

"At the order of ʒei ʒai na· ʒei, like an order according to the law," (and again he repeats) "I go to the east and it is black. My hand grasps a golden knife and I ride an iron cow. I stop up the mouth of the blood stream and will stop the blood bubbles so they will not flow. In a large way, I will stop the great Yangtse. In a small way I will stop a small river. I will cut off the Yellow River's *chiu hsi chiang* 九西江 nine west rivers. The wind enters the emptiness. Emptiness enters the wind. One wind, two winds, and the iron wire sews it together, (i.e., the bleeding skin). The left foot moves and the mountain comes and cuts off the sea. (The *tuan kung's* eyes are closed a while and he moves his left foot around as secretly as possible.) He says, "When the right foot moves, it cuts off the gateway of the sea. (He moves his right foot as though crossing a mountain). He says: The left hand crosses over the mountain to cut (block) off the sea. The right hand crosses the mountains to block off the gateway of the sea. (When he is saying the above, he closes his eyes and moves his hands as though they were crossing a mountain.) One, two, three, four, five, metal, wood, water, fire, earth. Metal does not leave wood and wood also does not leave metal. The blood man is named *chou* the blood mother is named *hsiu*. Stop, stop, do not flow, do not flow, do not flow. When I use these words, I will stab away the power of the wind and the water will not flow. Above is the head of the rapids. Stop the sky river. Below is the

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789 head of a rapid. Stop the Yellow River. Above, stop the Yellow River's *shuang ho ching* 雙河井 (double river well). Below, stop the two gates (mouths) of the Yellow River. He blows his breath three times and pinches the (open sore) together. The *tuan kung* opens his eyes and lifts up his head to see the clear sky. The one who has taught me (this) by word of mouth, come before my eyes. Mr. Huang, who have taught me, if I call you a thousand times, let it be efficacious (bring an answer) a thousand times and if I call you ten thousand times, answer ten thousand times.

XXIX. TO REMOVE BONES OR METAL OBJECTS THAT HAVE BEEN SWALLOWED

789 I lift up my eyes and lift up my eyes to see the clear
755 sky. The instructor who taught me with his own mouth is before my eyes. I ask my teacher for a bowl of water. The teacher has nine dragons in the bowl. The water of the throat of the nine dragons (is in the bowl). When gold, silver, copper, iron, or pewter touches this water, it is turned into dirt. I obey the command of tsai ʦin ʦai lau, order you to swallow a bone and transform the bone, and to swallow brass and transform the brass, and to swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills like (as easy as) the nine dragons entering the deep rapid. My breath of virtue endures long. If there is copper, transform copper. If there is no copper, do not transform the flesh. If there is bone, iron, pewter, or nails, you must transform them. If there are none of these, do not transform the (person's) flesh. I obey this command; immediately transform.

(When the incantation has been completed, the patient must drink the water the *tuan kung* has secured.)

XXX. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES PAIN IN THE NIPPLES

He repeats the incantation saying, "The baby drinks the milk laughing. Why have you come to me? I reply, The nipple is helpless. It is pitiful. I request you not to let people rub your nipples to cure you. If the pain is in the left, heal the left nipple. If the pain is in the right, cure the right. Rub the left and the pain of the left will depart. If we rub the right, (the pain in) the right will depart. If it still does not depart, I will take (the pain) away.

(The *tuan kung* uses the second and third fingers and he traces on the nipple, then she is well.* When he has taken away (the demon), he again asks the milk to come out).

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*This tracing resembles the one below:

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The milk must not accumulate (at one spot). The milk must not delay. When he calls you, you must come out at once.

XXXI. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES BOILS

I invite the thunder god, I invite the thunder goddess, I invite the Chinese medicine god, and also invite the Patriarch of the Lamas, and the teacher who removes water (out of ones body) and grows broken bones together, the upright teacher, the teacher who removes fever, the teacher who removes swellings, the teacher who stops the flow of blood and stops pains: the Patriarch among the snow mountains, the young lady among the snow mountains, the Crown Prince among the snow mountains.* At the first watch much snow falls. At the second watch a heavy frost falls. At the third watch it becomes very cold. At the fourth watch, frost is again added on top of the snow. At the fifth watch the bantam (golden) rooster will report (that) daylight (has come). This place has been transformed into a snow mountain plot. The dragons come. The dragons display their claws. The tigers come. The tigers display their bodies. When the tiger comes, the skin of the tiger will recede. When the dragon comes, the bones of the dragon will recede. The water of snow stops blood and stops pains and causes fevers to disappear and removes swellings and grows broken bones together. It sets dislocated bones (joints) so they can grow flesh, and grows together holes in the flesh. I, ʐin Ntsoɔ ʐɛdgi, come and bear witness. If you call me a hundred times, then it is efficient a hundred times. When you have taken (the demon) away, then (the boil) will be well.

XXXII. INCANTATION TO HEAL BOILS

Black, black and bright, bright. (On one hand black, on the other bright). The sun is coming out in the east. Ntsɔ³ ɔgʌu² go⁵ with Ntsɔ² nts'ai⁵ ʐwɛi⁶† came to cure boils (by taking away the demons). First, healing them so they will not swell. Secondly, healing them so they will not be painful. Thirdly, healing them so they will not discharge pus. Fourthly, healing them so they will not bleed. If there is something fierce, remove the fierce (thing). If there is swelling, remove the swelling. Do not let this time pass. (When he has spoken thus, he uses his second and fourth

*The meaning here is evidently that one snow mountain is the patriarch, another is a young lady, and a third is a Crown Prince among the other snow mountains, all of which are living beings.

†Ntsɔ² ɔgʌu³ go⁵ is a golden boy or girl.

Ntsɔ³ nts'ai⁵ ʐwei⁶ is a stone girl.

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789 fingers and traces a circle (spiral) on the boil.† When he has drawn this he repeats the incantation again.)

755 First, we have turned around the sky and the earth. Secondly, we have turned around the sun and the moon. The third turn and pus will not come out. The fourth turn and blood will not come out. If there is something fierce, then we will remove the fierce. If there is swelling we will remove it. I will add the bugle of the gods and the bronze bells, an iron axe, a brass finger ring, and an iron finger ring to remove (the boil). (When he has finished saying this, he again traces the spiral.)

XXXIII. INCANTATION TO PURIFY THE HOUSE AFTER A DEATH DURING THE MONTH

789 The heaven and the earth are as a matter of course and the poisonous air. The cave is empty. Huang Lang T'ai Hsüan* the majestic god of the eight directions cause me to be (as a matter of course) unmolested, spiritual precious and charm commands to broadly report to the nine heavens. Let Kan Lo Tang Lo and Tong Kang T'ai Hsüan behead spooks and tie up the demoniacal and kill 10,000 demons. The incantations of the gods in the mountains of the Primary Literary God. I repeat one section and I will capture demons and protect one's years, and arrange the five hells and know the eight seas. The demon king's hands are tied and 1000 soldiers come and help me. The fierce and unclean will disappear and the breath of *tao* 道氣 will last long.

(While he is repeating the above the *tuan kung* 端公 holds a broom in his hand and he holds a piece of cloth in his hand which must be white and twelve feet long, and he sweeps it around. He lights a torch and goes around the house to lighten and smoke it up to make it impossible (by the light) to see the demon and chase out the demon forms.)

XXXIV. THE WATER OF THE NINE DRAGONS (THIS WATER CAN HEAL COLDS IN THE HEAD)

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755 Use a bowl of water and draw charms above it. Put it on a table. Use a live rooster. You must have a piece of white cloth or black or dark blue; do not use red cloth. And a knife is needed and clean wine. Get them ready, then repeat this incantation. With the finger a dragon should be traced above the water while the person is repeating the incantation. With the two hands three knots must be twisted. The incantation follows:

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†The spiral is like this

*These are Chinese names, so they are romanized according to Chinese sounds. The Chinese characters could not be secured.

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I lift up my eyes and lift up my head to see the clear sky. The teacher who taught me with his mouth is before my eyes. I want a bowl of water fron Ntsə's sky. In the water are nine dragons. This water is from the throat of the nine dragons which can transform gold, silver, brass and iron. When they touch the water they will be changed to dirt. Obey the command of Nts'ə in heaven, swallow and transform brass, swallow iron and transform it. (If there is a cold, I will transform the cold.) I also swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills, as the nine dragons going down steep rapids. I have *tao* 道 and my life will endure long.

When he has repeated thus far with his left hand he lifts up the bowl of water and with his right hand he draws a large dragon on the water. Then he gives the water to the sick person to drink.

XXXV. THE NINE DRAGONS TRANSFORM BONES AND WATER THAT DRIVE AWAY COLDS OR HELP IN CHILD-BIRTH

"I lift up my eyes and look at the clear, blue sky. Before my eyes is my instructor. I call the instructor Tsang the *tuan kung* and I also invite Ntsə^{2}'s Ta^{3} ʒɛ^{5} glo^{6} in heaven. He has a bone which is a pill to cure colds. To-day will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. There is another bone that is a pill to transform colds. I myself will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. Brass, iron, colds and fevers will be transformed into water. Pewter things and bamboo things will be changed into dust. All illnesses will be transformed into water. Indigestion and malaria will be transformed into dust. In front it is empty. Behind it is empty. It will be transformed until it is without appearance. You ferry me teacher so that I can creep into Ntsə's heaven."

The *tuan kung* 端公 twists his hands into a nine-dragon turn over their bodies' knot. He also says,

"This water is not common water. This water is water to make peaceful births and transform demons. This water is not ordinary water. This water is water to exorcise spooks and transform strange demons. When I have finished I draw pictures (with the hands) over the water and everything will be prosperous and well.

C. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG TZŬ NIANG 熊子良 A CH'UAN MIAO FARMER FAMOUS AS A PRIEST OF MO WHO LIVES AT CHAO CHIA LING 趙家林 NEAR WANG WU CHAI 王武寨 AND IS OVER FIFTY YEARS OLD.

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As we have seen, the deceased ancestors are commemorated by numerous ceremonies in which offerings are made, but the Ch'uan Miao assert that they do not regard ancestors as deities. 769

Among more primitive peoples is found the mana concept, that of a superhuman, supernatural, strange power that is present in unusual persons, deities, and things. Among the Ch'uan Miao this power is assumed but not named or theorized about. It is possessed by gods, godlike creatures, devils, the *do nun* or exorcist, the *mo* or priest, the *bo ntxong* who transforms people into tigers, the ceremonial drum, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial crossbow, the ceremonial *lin p'ai*, the sword, the seal, etc. There are magic fans by the waving of which battles can be won and other wonders performed, and there are magical charms and incantations possessing this strange power. 789

Tigers, foxes, snakes, banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, cattle, and eels are believed to change into human form and vice versa. Sometimes they change into human form to help people, but often it is to do them harm, and people injured by them must be saved from death by the magician, the *do nun*. 82

The Ch'uan Miao regard all things as alive and sentient. The sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or karma, beds, marriage, swords, the harvest, the year, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial drum, and even the sound of the ceremonial drum are considered to be living things. Ample evidence of this is found in the stories, and it has often been confirmed to the writer by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

A year is a living creature with a head like that of a human being. The *liu sheng* is alive, and when played it is regarded as speaking. Ceremonial drums speak when being beaten in the ceremonies. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, ears, hearts, breasts, veins, and arteries. A plain may be male or female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Rocks and stones are male and female, grow, have offspring, and can speak. Some stones may become immortals. The echo has a deceptive character and can act and speak. Thunder is a living creature, in size and shape like a rooster. It is small but powerful, and its call is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire, and when it throws this there is lightning. It is this knife that causes damage when lightning strikes.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things, even those that are inanimate, are alive and have lives, but they find it difficult and less natural to say that inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active, and have eyes. In some old stories it is stated that people have lives and that the lives are located in the armpits. Are we right or wrong if we call this animatism?

GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION

The grammar of the Ch'uan Miao in some respects resembles that of the Chinese. It is monosyllabic and tonal. The order of the sentence is subject, predicate, and object, but the object follows the noun and the adverb follows the verb. In the Chinese language there is the aspirate and the nonaspirate, but the Ch'uan Miao have the nonaspirate, the "little aspirate," and the "big aspirate." The big aspirate 194 [193]

[185 cont.]

The Eighth Month. The fifteenth day of this month is the mid-autumn festival. The local Chinese have the custom of making offerings to the moon, which the Miao-I do not have. Before this date, however, some frolicsome fellows among them might steal a pumpkin from somebody's yard and on the eve of the fifteenth day would dress it up into the likeness of an infant, complete with garment and shoes, and wrap it inside a dress. While one man carries the pumpkin, another would walk behind, simulating baby talk or baby cry. They also carry with them different eatables and visit neighbors and relatives who do not have children. On arriving, they would set off firecrackers and then knock at the door to ask for entrance. The childless family, knowing the visit in advance, would prepare a feast to entertain the visitors in the hall. After entering the house, the visitors would take the pumpkin to an inner chamber and place it on a bed, imitating at the same time a child's crying. One visitor would then spit into the bed and exclaim: "The baby is wet!" On hearing this noise the owner of the house dashes into the room and invites the visitors to the feast. This performance is commonly known as "presenting the old pumpkin," and is regarded by childless couples as a good omen for childbearing. If in the future the recipient should actually give birth to a son, the pumpkin bearers would be treated to another feast.

The Ninth Month. The ninth day of the ninth month is the Ch'ung-yang festival. On this day the Miao-I families within the district all eat tz'u-pa and make wine, known as Ch'ung-yang wine. It is said that the wine made on this day is especially delicious in taste and can last for a whole year without becoming weak.

The Tenth Month. No festivals.

The Eleventh Month. No festivals.

[186] The Twelfth Month. The eighth day of this month is known as "La-pa," on which the Miao-I have the custom of competing for the first bucket of water. The bearers are all women, who rise early in the morning to go to the nearest well to draw the first bucketful of water to carry home. It is used to cook rice for the animals, to wash the women's hair, and to brew

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851 787 Meanwhile the shaman has finished his conjuring, seizes the chickens, and cuts them up in order to examine the omens (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"). First he takes out the tongues of the chickens and observes the hyoid bones for a long time; then he strips off the skin from the front of the heads and likewise carefully observes it. Finally, he takes the feet of the animals, holds them in the smoke of the incense candles, and also studies these omens. If they are unfavorable, it means that evil spirits are close by, from which the ancestors cannot protect the newborn child. In this case, the shaman must first drive away the evil spirits, and then the whole ceremony must be repeated. If the shaman discovers that only part of the ancestors have appeared, the conjuration must be performed again in the same way at the end of the month. This is repeated until the omens are favorable.

851 608 If the omens are favorable, however, as in this instance, the sponsor steps forward, and the child's mother addresses him as follows: "May my child one day be as great and powerful as you are." If the sponsor has special characteristics, they are also appropriately mentioned. The sponsor now ties a piece of string first around the right wrist and then around the left wrist of the child. This is supposed to protect the newborn [789] child against evil spirits and at the same time signifies that the sponsor assumes the sponsorship. With the same piece of string one of the child's wrists is tied to his own, whereupon he makes a little speech in which he expresses his good wishes for the child and promises to fulfill his duties as a sponsor. Then the sponsor hands the mother the first clothing for the child or silver amounting to the price of the clothing so that it can be bought by the parents. A modest festive meal in which all those present, including the shaman, participate, concludes the ceremony.

The completed ceremony means that the sponsor will always receive the child /54/ in his house whenever he visits him, and that he will help him as much as he can. Conversely, the same obligations are incurred by the child toward the sponsor. The children of distinguished persons sometimes have two sponsors.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/115 cont./ the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

A 586 837

h) Old Age and Death

A M 588 [590] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

A M 763 203 [202] Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-

A M [782] [775] stuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

M 764 775 Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of

1. Page 461.

Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A

M [789] piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

/116 cont./

764 spirits, a pig and a couple of chickens are slaughtered, and the soul is invited to feast on them. Then a great dance takes [775] place. " [789]

The deathwatch is maintained by the parents, the surviving spouse, and the children. After a few hours, two or three of these closest relatives relieve one another. During the deathwatch relatives and condoling friends, whose numbers depend on the importance of the deceased, speak of the dead [766] person and mourn his passing. If the deceased was a distinguished man, his body lies in state for two days; in the case of a humble man and women and children, only one day.

614 During the deathwatch the men of the sib prepare the 764 coffin for the deceased. For this purpose a tree trunk of a proper [322] length for the deceased is hollowed out. No ceremonies and no special handling of the tools are connected with the carving of the coffin. They go about this work in the same way as they do when they make a pig trough. Then the corpse is put, on its back, into the coffin, and the latter is closed with two boards. Toward twelve o'clock the same men begin to dig a grave at a place in the jungle selected by them. Since there are no cemeteries, and no special burying grounds for the sib, the choice of the site is left to these men, who perform this work as a pious service and have no other function in con- [767] nection with the burial. -- There are no professional grave-diggers.

764 The grave is always laid out in an east-west direction, and in stony or level ground it is dug out about one meter deep, otherwise another half a meter.

The burial takes place between about two and three [614] o'clock. The closest male members of the sib who are able-bodied carry the coffin to the burial place, accompanied by all the sib members and guests. Here it is let down into the pit in such a way that the corpse lies horizontally in the grave, with the head toward the east and the feet toward the west. The Meau of today no longer know why this direction is observed; they are following a /117/ custom handed down from

/119 cont./

764 [775] This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1),

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; moreover, [789] a coffin is not always used. In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In [767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 775 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 [114] [562] This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2),

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.

765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

/120/

M 764 [114] [789] Savina (1) reports briefly and likewise somewhat differ-

1. II, p. 229.

ently on the burial customs of the Meau: "As soon as someone has died, the drum is beaten and guns fired in order to drive away the evil spirits. People come to the house, bemoan the dead, and begin to drink liquor and to eat meat. On the third day the deceased is buried under the supervision of a shaman. The latter tosses a chicken into the air and sees from its fluttering which way the soul will go. The grave is made, about a meter deep, where it falls. The coffin is a hollowed-out tree trunk. A small mound is made on the grave with a few stones."

M [787] [775] [825]

A 764 628 [203] [765] The burial customs of the Akha are similar at some points to those of the Meau. As among the latter, among the Akha, too, the guests from the surrounding villages are invited to the funeral by messengers. Until their arrival all work ceases in the mourning village; no one leaves the village, and moreover, as a sign of mourning, even the inhabitants of those villages from which a number of persons have set out for the funeral as mourners retire into their houses.

A 764 Among the Akha the deceased is washed and, attired in his best clothing and silver ornaments, is laid out on a sleeping mat, over which is put a new white cotton cloth. The corpse is put on its back, and, while it is still warm, the toes and hands are tied so that when rigor mortis sets in the limbs will remain in the desired position. It is seen to that the arms of the corpse are stretched out and that the palms of the hands remain turned toward each other. Members of the family, friends, and, in the case of distinguished men, many village inhabitants, squat beside the corpse and around the house of the dead and maintain the deathwatch day and night and utter the lament for the dead. The members of the family go from one to the other of those present, in order to serve everyone.

/168 cont./

231 776 [731] [789] [243] If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764] [775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen dọ nă thu /169/ pẹ̆ dŏ. Savina (1) [114] [773]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for instance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty. [931] [825] [224]

[973] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the [821] [626]

/177 cont./

428 756 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 787 [775] It is the task of the shaman to learn the wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make them known to human beings. The shaman, however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also impossible for the shaman to bewitch human beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40 Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 [754] [789]

756 755 789 [822] Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors, the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects. Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures [787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of [778] the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

/178 cont./

wooden swords (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] Usually the desired effect takes place immediately, the Meau believe. If the wooden swords should not prove to be effective enough, one makes use of swords of iron or bronze (Fig. 55).[1] Thereupon the evil spirits are said to leave the human being immediately.

The conjuration of the teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits takes place as follows: the shaman invokes his teacher-spirit and beseeches him to appear with his three pairs of assistant spirits, whereupon he is convinced that they all enter into him. Next he places four incense candles, one each for the teacher-spirit and the three pairs of assistants, on the altar of the house and lights them. Four small bowls of tea as a sacrifice are put beside the candles. Then the shaman sits down in front of the altar, either on the ground or on a bench placed there. Now he strikes the magic rattle, which he holds in his left hand, rhythmically against his knees and moves his upper body forward and /179/ backward, while those men at whose request the conjuration is being performed slowly and steadily beat on small bronze gongs. After these preparations have been made, the shaman begins his conjuration and asks the spirit to appear and to enter his body. As soon as this has taken place, he falls into a trance, loses consciousness, and starts to tremble all over his body. Sometimes he jumps upon the bench in magical agitation and begins to act like a madman. Immediately his assistants and persons chosen for this purpose from among the onlookers start holding him, for his behavior indicates that he is fighting evil spirits that are trying to take possession of him.

It may happen that in this struggle he throws himself to the ground and thrashes about in such a way that he cannot be restrained anymore, and he then rolls through the door into the stables. Soiled from head to foot with the dung of the domestic animals, he convulsively utters disconnected words for the spirits are speaking through him. Every word is given the fullest

[1] [SEE cat 116, p 287 - ANALYST]

/179 cont./

757 787 attention and is interpreted. It is a shorter or longer time before he again awakes from the trance state, depending on how hard a struggle is required in his fight against the evil spirits. In easy cases, he immediately returns to consciousness, but it may take a day or longer before he awakens. It is striking that, even after the shaman has regained normal consciousness, he remembers everything that the spirits said to him.

[782] Aside from the sacrifices for the spirits that have to be made in the presence of the shaman, there are five things included among the obligations of the shaman: 1. as in the case [755] described, he has to cure sicknesses by exorcising the evil spirits to whom their origin is traced, 2. he must predict the future, especially with regard to whether some work that has been undertaken will be accompanied by success or misfortune, 3. he interprets omens and 4. dreams which a person is unable to explain himself, 5. he must make charms and sacral signs (Ill. 97). [789] [755] [614] [465] As compensation for his work, he receives a piece of silver for cases of serious illness, but if the sick person is a member of the sib of the shaman, nothing is paid. The prediction of the future or of success or misfortune costs only about a quarter /180/ of this amount, as does the interpretation of omens. In lieu of silver money, food, opium, cloth, and the like may be given.

123 755 As was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, was sick. His worried father complained to me that Lü, his good son, had lost his soul, which had left his body. The shaman had already tried twice to call it back, but in vain. I heard the plea for help in the words of the distressed father, and moreover I knew that several days before Lü had followed a wounded gaur deep into the malaria-ridden lowlands and had even spent the night there. My diagnosis was therefore made quickly, and an examination confirmed my suspicion. Lü had tropical malaria. I was equally anxious to help the worried father and to justify the confidence of the chief, which he was at the same time. Moreover, I did [126] not want to lower the shaman's prestige by my success, but

1 [see cat 116, p663 - ANALYST]

/186 cont./

the hands of the dead." (In this connection I refer to my remarks concerning this author and the objectives of his investigation in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales," pp. 302-303.)

Lajonquière (1) gives the following portrayal: "Among the

1. II, p. 313.

Meau there are some individuals, half priests and half sorcerers, without a cult or ordination, who, however, ascribe to themselves supernatural powers. They close their eyes and release their soul from the mortal body so that it may make contact with the spirits in the depths of the earth. As special clothing, the sorcerers merely have a white veil which they put over their faces before the ceremony. Music and dancing play an important role in this, but it always ends with an elaborate feast."

According to the data of the various authors cited and my own observations, an error must be involved when Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 172.

writes that the Meau have no priests at all. At any rate, I could find a very clear separation of the activities of the male and female shamans from those of the other Meau, who, to be sure, also perform various magical procedures. Among them there is the hunting magic, which is practiced by successful hunters both among the Akha and the Meau without requiring the help or the presence of the shaman. For this magic the hunter must smear the front part of his crossbow with the blood of the slain animal. He then glues a few hairs or feathers, depending on whether a bird or other game is involved, to the blood and now believes that he will soon again be equally successful with the weapon. It is possible that such magical procedures which are feasible for every Meau have led to the view that this people has no individuals who can be regarded expressly as priests, that is, shamans. On the contrary, the activity of the shamans is very extensive.

/186 cont./

755 789 On the day immediately following the conjuration described, I experienced another instance of the assistance of the shaman in cases of illness. This concerned the sick woman who /187/ had asked the shaman for his help during the conjuration of the soul of Lü, and therefore it was not a matter of a sacrifice satisfactory to the spirits, but rather the exorcisism of the evil spirit from the house afflicted by sickness, and the creation of a guardian [776] spirit such as has already been discussed (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter).

[787] At this spirit-exorcism the beginning of the ceremony was identical with the one of the previous day. While the shaman was in an hour-long trance, the sick woman stood behind him on two spirit-papers, and the chief again burned spirit-money, drew the dividing lines on the ground with the sword, spat water in all directions, and scattered the maize kernels. Suddenly the shaman stopped his twitching and rhythmical movements; his rattling sounds ceased. We learned that the spirit had become too tired [787] to answer and that he would have to be re-awakened. For this purpose the head of the house stepped up to the shaman and struck him on the shoulder. Once more the monotonous conjuration formulas and the twitching of the shaman began. In the meantime, the head of the house tied a string to the young dog to be sacrificed. Then the shaman lighted a straw torch, threw gunpowder into the flames so that they flared up hissingly, spoke accompanying words of conjuration, and walked around the sick woman a few times with the burning torch. He was preceded by the man with the young dog, and at his side walked a young man carrying the gunpowder in an inverted bronze gong. This small procession stepped out of the door and walked around the house several times, while from time to time the shaman threw the proffered gunpowder into the torch (Ill. 102),[1] spat in all directions, murmured prayers, and, whenever the flame hissed up, shouted: "Off with you, evil spirit!" Smoke and stench enveloped the house, which, evidently, was supposed to drive away the evil spirit. The sacrificial animal, however, was led around the house so that the guardian spirit would recognize the area it was to watch. The procession came to a halt. In front of the

[1] [See cat 116, p 704 - ANALYST]

/187 cont./
755 entrance to the house the shaman cut the throat of the young dog
789 (Ill. 101)[2] and caught the blood in leaves. With the blood he
then drew a cross on the backs of the head of the household and
each of the other members and smeared some blood on the door
[787] posts. /188/ Finally, he once more threw the oracle horns and
burned a quantity of spirit-money as a sacrifice.

756 On another occasion we were able to observe the activity
787 of a female shaman. This involved the invocation of the Father-
[776] Mother spirit, who, as soon as the rice is ripe, according to the
Meau, moves away in order to be ready for the New Year's festival.
Now this spirit had supposedly returned and would be asked by the
female shaman to bring blessings to the occupants of the house.
Outwardly there is little difference from the activity of a male
shaman. It was striking to us that the female shaman used not
two, but four oracle horns. At this ceremony, too, there was
a struggle with evil spirits. Whenever the female shaman in her
exertions jumped upon the bench to indicate that an evil spirit
was present, the head of the household scattered maize and his
wife spat water in the four directions. Despite the fact that every-
thing was carefully observed and care was taken to scatter the
kernels and spit out the water in the prescribed way, the evil
spirit would not yield. Finally, the head of the household seized
the spirit-sword hanging on the wall by the altar and stuck it
into the ground in front of the altar. The female shaman had
actually fallen into a deep trance and had to be awakened very
laboriously by being pounded on the back by the head of the
household after the conjuration was over.

756 Besides this kind of activity, obviously recognizable as a
789 priestly performance, there falls to the shaman, but not ex-
clusively to him alone, the making of spirit-paper (Ill. 84, 85)[2]
and thus spirit-money. Moreover, the shaman is obliged to
make certain amulets and talismans, although many other Meau
know how to make various such means of protection against the
evil spirits. The ingredients are obtained from flowers and plants.
Small triangular cloth bags are filled with the mixture. Such
amulets are worn on a string around the neck or attached to the
silver neck-ring itself.

[1] [See Cat 116, p666 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", P598 - "]

/188 cont./

[789] [753] Since there is an inclination to trace sicknesses back to the influence of evil spirits, all the means used against them are also used in the fight against sickness. As has been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," for protection against /189/ sickness, strings are tied around the children's wrists, and metal rings can also be used for this. The effectiveness of many amulets pertains at any given time to a certain spirit, but magical agents with a polyvalent effect, so to speak, are also made. Such magical agents are brewed out of the most effective substances known against certain individual spirits and therefore have a general effect. For instance, one takes the root [824] of a certain kind of mimosa and adds arrow poison, pandanus leaves, and the root of a certain plant cultivated for this purpose in the rice fields, but whose name I could not discover. Since each of these agents is in itself protection against certain spirits, the effect of the mixture, according to the conception of the Meau, is comprehensive.

[823] Besides such vegetable protective agents, copper plays a special role among the metals in the making of such agents, since magical properties are attributed to it. Objects made of this [301] metal, such as rings for the neck, arms, or legs, are supposed to protect one against evil spirits. It is therefore primarily the children who are provided with such magical ornaments by their worried parents.

[756] The shamans, too, usually make their amulets out of the substances named and sell them at a small price. The view is not, however, that spirits are conjured into such amulets, but only that these amulets are protection against evil spirits. There [776] is, for instance, no spirit of arrow poison, of mimosa, or of the other substances mentioned; they merely have a warding-off and thus protective effect. Savina (1), too, mentions the amulets [714]

1. II, p. 257.

and reports that in time of war some that are supposed to make warriors invulnerable are made.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/201 cont./

A 787 825 "Before a Kaw builds his house, he throws an egg into the air and observes where it falls. He builds his house on this spot. When it is finished, the Kaw scrutinizes the liver of a pig." The same author (4) also made the following observation:

A 313 824 789

4. Page 114.

"When the Kaw have felled a tree, they put a stone on the stump; evidently, they thereby want to relieve themselves of responsibility; the tree spirit should now molest the stone and not the people."

d) Cult and Taboo

M 782 776 Among the Meau, the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, the various teacher-spirits and their assistant spirits, the good spirits in general, as well as the ancestors, have cultic connections. On the other hand, no regular cult is devoted to the evil spirits. M [755] Sacrifices are offered to them only occasionally, chiefly in case of sickness or if one cannot avoid approaching their abodes, for instance, in the jungle.

Sacrifices are offered in order to make the ancestors and the good spirits favorably disposed. For protection against the harmful deeds of the evil spirits, one turns to the good spirit /202/ /Figs. 41-52 appear here/ /203/ whose sphere of interest he fears is being invaded by the evil spirits. If some damage was done to the fields, for instance, one would not turn to the teacher-spirits or the assistant spirits of the smithy.

M 776 789 [778] One tries to protect himself beforehand against the influence of evil spirits through the use of amulets. Among these there are the spirit-swords, carved out of wood, which, provided with simple line drawings made with charcoal, are hung over the entrance of every house in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] M [782] [756] If in spite of all these precautionary measures evil spirits have entered, sacrifices are offered to them, but in addition one tries to exorcise them through the mediation of the shaman with the assistance of the good spirits.

[1] [See cat 116, p 287- ANALYST]

/275 cont./

342 184 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Crédner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/ north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] [789] [411] [283] [531] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

/325 cont./

301 are worn over one another (Ills. 52-54).[1] The most common are simple round hoops which are worn open at the neck or are provided with a fastener of silver rings (Fig. 213). Instead of the small silver rings, a silver clasp may also be used to close the hoop, as, for example, in the case of the large neck ring of the shaman, which is illustrated in Fig. 212. Some- [789] times small charms, powder sewed into black cloth and the like, are attached to the neck hoop for protection against evil [531] spirits (Fig. 211). The two bent ends of the neck hoop are [412] usually provided with incised designs (Figs. 214-216). In

209 210

Figs. 209-210. Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 209. Wooden comb to stick in the hair, about 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 210. Bamboo comb for dressing the hair, about 1/3 nat. size.

addition to these typical solid silver hoops, such neck rings made of iron or copper, or of silver twisted with copper, are also worn (Fig. 217). All of the neck hoops are made by the Meau themselves and are also worn on workdays.

[325] The material for the making of silver ornaments is ob- [177] tained by melting down the old Indochinese piaster pieces or Chinese silver coins. For a heavy men's hoop nine pieces of mon (which are old Indochinese silver coins) are required.

The earrings of the girls and women -- I did not see any on men -- are likewise made of solid silver. The most common form is provided with an arrow wound with fine silver wire (Fig. 218 and Ill. 60).[2] /326/ I have also often come across the large silver ear-pendants in the shape of reversed question marks, which Lajonquière (1) mentions, among the

1. II, p. 309.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448- "]

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
789 efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly
[465] paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

39: Bernatzik--666 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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291
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Ill. 101. Creating a guardian spirit among the Meau. The throat of a newborn dog is cut.

39: Bernatzik--704 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 522/

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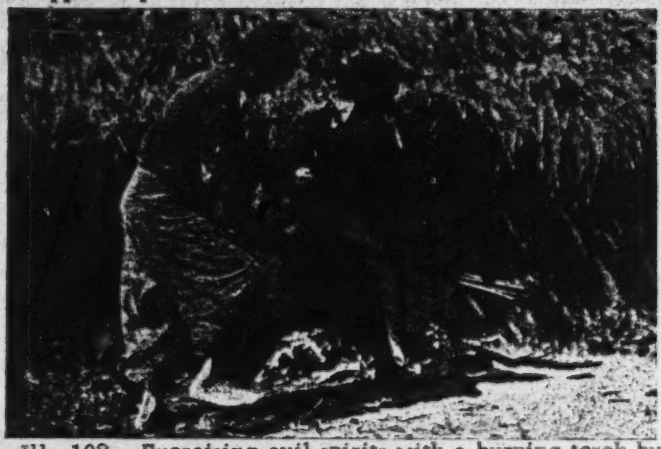
789



Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits with a burning torch by the shaman of the Meau (right) and his assistant.

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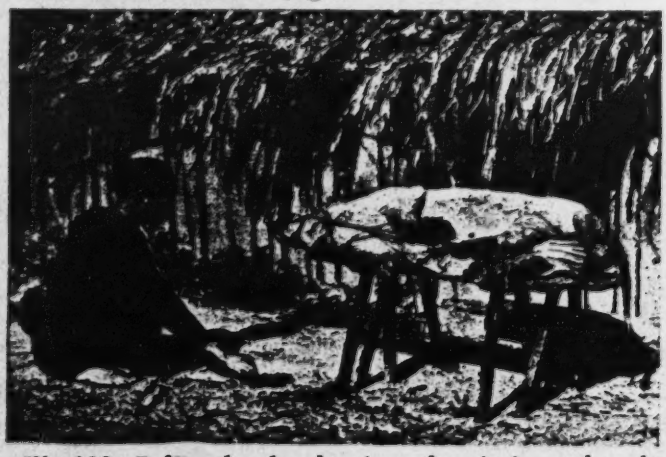

Ill. 103. Before the slaughtering, the pig is purchased from the spirits by the Meau by burning spirit-money under the snout of the animal.

/IX cont./

231 776 789 [775] Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a newborn dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 789 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 782 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 243 482 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.

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342 [415] Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.

353 [264] [354] Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 [264] [352] Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at mealtime. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.